DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 196 811 SP 015 419

AUTHOR Montalvo, David: And Others
TITLE The Puerto Ricans: A Brief Look At Their History.
INSTITUTION B'nai B'rith, New York, N.Y. Anti-Defamation League.: Philadelphia School District, Pa.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 77
GRANT OEG-070-2087
NOTE 102p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Colonialism: Cultural Differences: Foreign Countries: Hispanic Americans: Imperialism: *Latin American History: Migration: *Puerto Rican Culture: *Puerto Ricans: *Sociocultural Patterns: *Socioeconomic Influences: United States History
IDENTIFIERS *Puerto Rico: Spain: United States

ABSTRACT

Beginning with an overview of the Spanish conquest and resulting rule, this handbook chronicles the history of Puerto Rico with specific attention devoted to the social and economic influences of contact with both Spain and the United States. Topics of particular relevance include a geographical overview of the land and its influence on the Puerto Rican people, Spanish colonialism, the social and economic impact of Spanish rule, Puerto Rico under United States rule, Puerto Rico as a territory and a commonwealth, the effects of economic and cultural influences of the United States on Puerto Rican society, and the causative factors resulting in the Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainland. (JN)

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THE PUERTO RICANS: A Brief Look At Their History

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SP 015 419

Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

This manual has been prepared, printed, and distributed by the School District of Philadelphia and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith under grant #OEG-070-2087. Requests for information concerning this or other material should be addressed to the School District of Philadelphia or the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

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PART I

Puerto Rico Under Spanish Rule

Chapter 1

Borinquen:* Puerto Rico, The Land and Its People

On November 19th, 1493, during his second journey to the New World in search of spices and gold, Christopher Columbus and his men landed on a previously unexplored island in the Caribbean sea. What Columbus and his men saw then was a land of astonishing beauty—an island of eternal summer, covered with lush green vegetation, brilliantly colored tropical flowers and birds, and an abundance of oranges, pineapples, lemons, limes, and coconuts. The natives of this land called their home Borinquen, which in their language meant Land of the Noble Lord. Columbus named the island San Juan Bautista, in honor of Don Juan, the son of Spain's King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Today we call this island Puerto Rico, land of the rich port.

Geography and Climate

Puerto Rico is the fourth largest island in the Caribbean Sea. It is the easternmost and southernmost island of the Greater Antilles, a group of islands which also includes Cuba, Hispaniola and Jamaica. It is surrounded on the north and east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Caribbean Sea, and by Mona Strait on the west.

Puerto Rico is actually the crest of an underwater mountain that is volcanic in origin. Although in terms of land mass it is really quite small (100 miles long and 35 miles wide) it offers a surprising variety of landscape. In just a few hours' time it is possible to travel from lush, fertile areas to desert lands complete with cacti, and from flat coastal plains to high mountain ranges.

*The Indian name of Puerto Rico has been spelled both Borinquen and Boriquen.

An uninterrupted coastal plain covers 25 percent of the island territory, while further inland there is a series of low hills that comprise 35 percent of the island. Three mountain ranges bisect the center of the island from east to west. The highest peak, La Punta de Jayuya, rises 4,400 feet, but the best known is El Yunque. El Yunque is located in a tropical rain forest and is one of the main tourist attractions of the island.

Puerto Rico has few natural lakes and no navigable rivers. But because the island's main mountain range, La Cordillera Central, is closer to the northern coast, the rivers in the north are longer. The trade winds blow from the northeast bringing with them moisture from the ocean. This moisture condenses and falls back as rain, making the northern area more humid and cooler than the south.

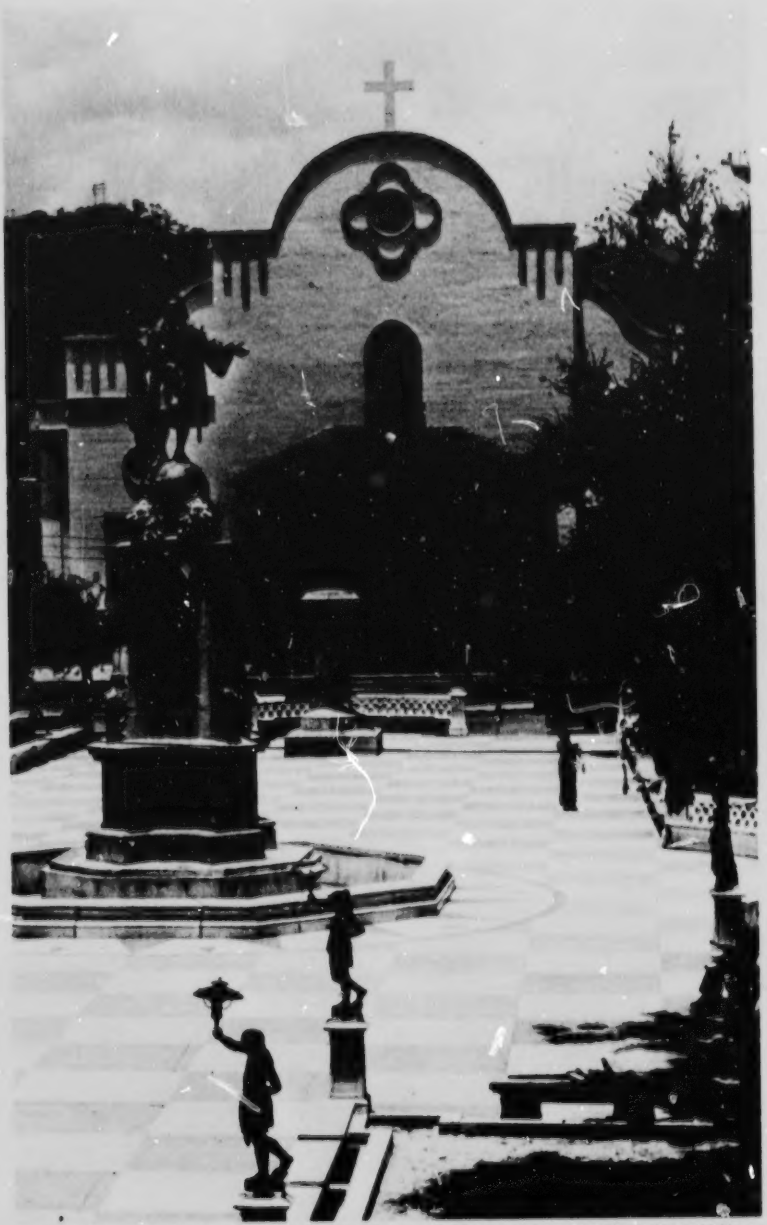
The main rivers in Puerto Rico are the Loíza, which carries the greatest amount of water, and La Plata, which is the longest. The best farm lands are in the north, while the southern coast is very dry and needs irrigation. There is a great contrast between these two regions: lush, tropical vegetation in the north and desert-like conditions in the south. The western end of the mountain has been tunneled in order to bring the abundant waters of the north to the dry lands of the south.

Vegetation and Natural Resources

When Columbus first discovered Puerto Rico, the island's soil was extremely fertile and the different altitudes produced a rich variety of plant life. But over the years poor farming methods and the expansion of industry and housing have affected the soil's fertility. Today only one-third of the topsoil is considered adequate for farming, and while 40 percent of the island is suitable for agriculture, the remaining 60 percent must be used for forests and pastures. The local and federal governments have supported a strong reforestation campaign, and as a result, 25 percent of the land area is covered with forest reserves. Vegetation in the natural state is for the most part limited to the forest reserve areas. Luquillo National Forest, for example, is almost impenetrable, with its abundant variety of tropical trees, shrubs and flowers.

The 1,850,000 acres suitable for agriculture are used in crop and livestock production, or are kept in conservation. The island's main crops are sugar cane and pineapples in the coastal areas, and tobacco, fruits and vegetables in the mountainous interior.

Puerto Rico has limited mineral deposits of copper, iron, cobalt, manganese and nickel. In some regions there are iron deposits with



Statue of Christopher Columbus in Mayagüez, an important seaport. (American Airlines)

veins believed to be more than 90 feet thick. The exact quantity is not presently known, but plans are being formulated to mine the ore. Copper was recently discovered in the mountainous area between Utuado and Adjuntas. Preliminary geological studies indicate that over 50 million tons of this valuable metal will be available for future commercial use. Non-metallic minerals like clay, limestone, sand and gravel, the essential ingredients for cement, are plentiful. Also in good supply are silicate for glass, marble, and blue limestone for highway, building and construction industries. Salt for home and industrial use is "farmed" from the ocean on evaporation beds in the south.

The People

Very little is known about the inhabitants of Puerto Rico prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Whatever information is available comes from the reports of contemporary observers or from archeological studies. Yet scientists and historians have pieced together something of the culture of the original inhabitants of Puerto Rico.

The Arcaicos and The Igneris

It is commonly accepted that the island's first inhabitants were the Arcaicos (Archaics), a racial group that belonged to the same people who populated the rest of the Americas. In all probability, the Arcaicos reached Puerto Rico after travelling southward from Florida and stopping at the other Greater Antilles.

The culture of the Arcaicos was not very sophisticated. They had no pottery, did not till the land, and had no knowledge of boats or canoes. They travelled by means of large rafts hewn from tree trunks and their diet was simple, consisting mainly of fish, wild fruits, and snails.

The next group to settle on the island were the Igneris, one of the Arawak tribes. The Arawak tribes were migratory people who originally lived in areas which today form part of Brazil and Venezuela. The Igneris were excellent sailors and canoe builders, travelling in large canoes capable of holding 100 people. During one of their journeys they reached Trinidad. From this island, some of them sailed north, landed in Puerto Rico, and settled on its shores. The Igneris were accomplished artisans and good fishermen. They had a more sophisticated level of culture than the Arcaicos.

The Tainos

A second wave of Arawaks, the Tainos, arrived in Puerto Rico some time later. The Tainos were less sophisticated than the Igneris and it is believed that they copied most of their customs from the first Arawak settlers. The Tainos comprised the population of Puerto Rico when Columbus discovered the island in 1493.

The Tainos lived in scattered settlements, each presided over by a separate leader or *cacique* but bound together in a larger federation. Although it is difficult to say with certainty, authoritative estimates put the Taino population in Puerto Rico at 30,000 when the Spaniards arrived.

The Tainos were well proportioned and dark of color with straight black hair, high cheekbones and slightly slanted eyes. Except for the chief or *cacique* and his wives, each of whom wore an apron (called a *nagua*), the rest of the Tainos did not wear any clothes. However, both men and women painted their bodies and faces with red, white and black dyes which they obtained from plants and minerals. The painted design was considered clothing, and to appear in public without paint was socially unacceptable. Furthermore, it is believed that they used these dyes to protect themselves against mosquitoes and other insects, and possibly to ward off evil spirits as well.

Social Organization Among The Taino Indians

Social organization among the Tainos was well developed. They lived in tribes, each under the rule of a *cacique*, and were divided into social classes. In the lowest class were slaves captured in battle. Above these were the free men, divided into two distinct groups—the Naborias, who constituted the working class, and the Nytainos who comprised the Taino nobility. The Naborias worked under the orders of the Nytainos, who in turn transmitted the orders of the *cacique*. The Nytainos had certain privileges, such as better housing and better food. Each *cacique* had several wives, and often upon the death of the *cacique* his favorite wife was buried with him. The *cacique* was in charge of the health and safety of his tribe. In case of serious emergencies, all the tribes united under a supreme *cacique*.

Next in importance to the *cacique* was the *bohique*, or medicine man. The Tainos believed that illness was caused by evil spirits. When the *bohique* visited a patient he sang magic songs and

inhaled tobacco powder which made him go into a trance, thereby facilitating communication with the gods on behalf of the patient. If the patient was not healed, his family often chased the *bohique* and gave him a beating.

The economic activities of the Tainos were divided between the two sexes. Hunting and fishing were considered activities proper to men. Farming was the responsibility of the women. There was an abundance of fish in the waters which ringed the island, and trout in its rivers and brooks. The Tainos loved to fish and were highly skilled in the use of harpoons, arrows, and fishing nets made of cotton and maguey.

When the Tainos migrated to Puerto Rico, they brought with them the yucca, a plant which became indispensable to their diet. They also cultivated sweet potatoes, yautía, tobacco, corn, cotton, and plantains. Their agricultural implements were rudimentary. The *coa*, or digging stick, made of wood with a tip hardened by exposure to fire, was used by women for poking holes in the ground for seeding. After a field was cleared it was divided into sections, each called a *conuco* and planted with a crop. After the harvest was gathered, the *cacique* distributed the produce among the families, keeping a substantial share in reserve for community emergencies.

Religion

One of the more sophisticated beliefs of the Taino culture was that there was a supreme creator, whom they called Yukiyú. They thought that Yukiyú lived at the top of the mountain that we know today as El Yunque. They also believed in the existence of an evil spirit, a devil figure whom they called Jurakán. They ascribed to Jurakán the power to darken the sky and to cause violent winds and storms. The Tainos also worshipped lesser deities known as *cemíes*. Every village and every family had its own protecting *cemí*, the image of which was carved in wood, stone, clay or gold. The Tainos believed in an afterlife and buried their dead with great care, providing them with such necessities as food and water.

The Carib Invasions

The Tainos were a peaceful, gentle people not given to war or violence. They were no match for the fierce Caribs, a hostile tribe of Indians who began to invade the island just prior to its

discovery by Columbus. The Caribs overran the small farms and villages, capturing Taino men and taking the women as part of the war booty. It is interesting to note that Columbus first heard of the island called Borinquen when he landed at Santa María de Guadalupe, where he found twelve Indian women and two small boys who said they were captives of the man-eating Caribs. In the hope of returning home, they asked for and were granted permission to travel with him.

If the Tainos were no match for the Caribs, they were certainly less of a match for the Spaniards. Able to offer little resistance against the sophisticated weapons of the Spaniards, they quickly found themselves overpowered and enslaved.

Spanish Conquest

At first the chief Taino *cacique*, Agüeybana, offered the Spaniards help in the exploration of the island, but the Spaniards, who considered themselves gentlemen of leisure, began to depend more and more on the work of the Indians. The Tainos' naive acceptance of the Spaniards quickly turned into a nightmare as the Conquistadores surpassed the Caribs in cruelty.

The enslavement of the Tainos became formalized through the years. Indeed, the promise of plots of land *(repartimientos)* and slaves to work the land was an early inducement to attract colonizers to the island. With the system of *encomienda*, a disguised form of slavery, Indian servitude became an institution. Under this system some 30 to 300 Indians, each under the command of a *cacique*, were assigned to each Spanish colonizer. They were put to work not only searching for gold along the rivers and in the mines, but also on the small farms and in various forms of construction. The heavy work of those early colonial days was accomplished almost entirely by Indian slaves.

First, discontent, and later, repressed hatred replaced the Tainos' former feelings of friendship toward the Conquistadores. The Tainos were not accustomed to heavy work and soon their health was adversely affected. Most of the *encomenderos* (plantation owners) were mainly interested in finding gold and did not care about the well-being of their *encomendados* (workers). Yet, although the Tainos' grievances were numerous—enslavement, cruel treatment, diseases contracted from the Spaniards, the mistreatment of their women—they believed that the strangers were immortal and dared not attack them.

Culture Under Spanish Conquest

The Spaniards attempted to stamp out the Indian culture of Borinquen in the same way that they attempted to stamp out the native cultures found in all of the lands under their domination. Yet in contrast with the 17th and 18th century English and the 19th century Anglo-Americans who considered the New World's native population as inferior and even subhuman, the Spaniards accepted the Indians as humans capable of assimilating European customs and mores. Shocked by the nudity of the Tainos, their social values, and especially by their religion, the Spaniards believed that it was their duty before God and the Spanish Crown to clothe them, convert them to Catholicism, make them realize the sinfulness of their ways, and eventually make good Spaniards of them.

The Spaniards were so successful in stamping out the Taino culture that a century later only a few traces were left of what had formerly been a vigorous and active people. Today, except for the archeological discoveries of items like *dujos* (ceremonial chairs), *cemís*, stone collars, elbow stones, and other artifacts preserved in museums around the world, little is left of the Tainos. Their contributions to the present lives of Puerto Ricans can be summarized in the preservation of their blood line through intermarriage, in the names of several towns, in the consumption of foods indigenous to the island, and in a number of words for objects which prior to the discovery of America were unknown to Europeans.

Intermarriage

The island's first settlers were men, either unmarried or whose families had remained in Spain or Hispaniola. Some of these men had children by Taino women. The Dominican Friars who had arrived with the first settlers dedicated themselves to the task of converting the Indians to Christianity and to the Spanish way of life. They vigorously opposed the Spaniards' practice of keeping concubines. To discourage this practice they urged the settlers to bring their wives and children. In 1509, Juan Ponce de León set the example for this new trend by being the first colonizer to bring his family to the island.

In the few cases in which children had been born from Taino women and unmarried Spaniards, the Friars pressured the couples into marriage. They insisted that of the two evils, living in sin or

marrying a person of a different race, it was less sinful and more Christian to choose the latter. This attitude strongly contrasted with that assumed in later years by the English and other colonial powers.

Unsuccessful Rebellion

The system of enslavement, the abuse of Indian women, and the encroachment upon their lands embittered the Indians to the point where they dared to entertain thoughts of rebellion. A revolt which had been in the offing for quite a while came to a head with the death of Agüeybana. His successor and nephew, Guaybaná, who loathed the Spaniards, was held back only by the persisting rumor that the Spaniards were immortal. In order to test this story, it was necessary to risk taking the life of a Spaniard. The *cacique* Uroyóan ordered several of his men to accompany the young Spaniard Diego de Salcedo on his journey through the mountains. Salcedo welcomed this assistance, completely trusting the docile Tainos. When they reached the Guaorabo river, they insisted on carrying the Spaniard across on their shoulders, lest he ruin his clothes. In the middle of the stream the Indians dropped him into the water and held him under until he drowned. After dragging the body to the shore, the Indians remained with him for several days to see if he would rise from the dead. The decomposing body convinced the Indians that the *conquistadores* could be destroyed through battle. Word of the Spaniards' susceptibility spread immediately from mountain to mountain throughout the island by signal fire.

When the Indians attacked and killed members of the household of Cristóbal de Sotomayor, Ponce de León took to the offensive with 120 of his men. In a surprise attack on the Indian village of Guana, León slew more than 200 Indians without losing any of his own troops. Moving on the region of Yagueca in the northern part of the island, Ponce de León attacked and killed hordes of warring Indians from the safety of a makeshift hilltop stockade. When the supreme Indian chief Guaybaná received a mortal blow, the Indians withdrew in disarray and the rebellion ended. By 1540 the Tainos had practically disappeared, except for a band that took refuge in the mountains.

Chapter 2

Puerto Rico and Spanish Colonialism

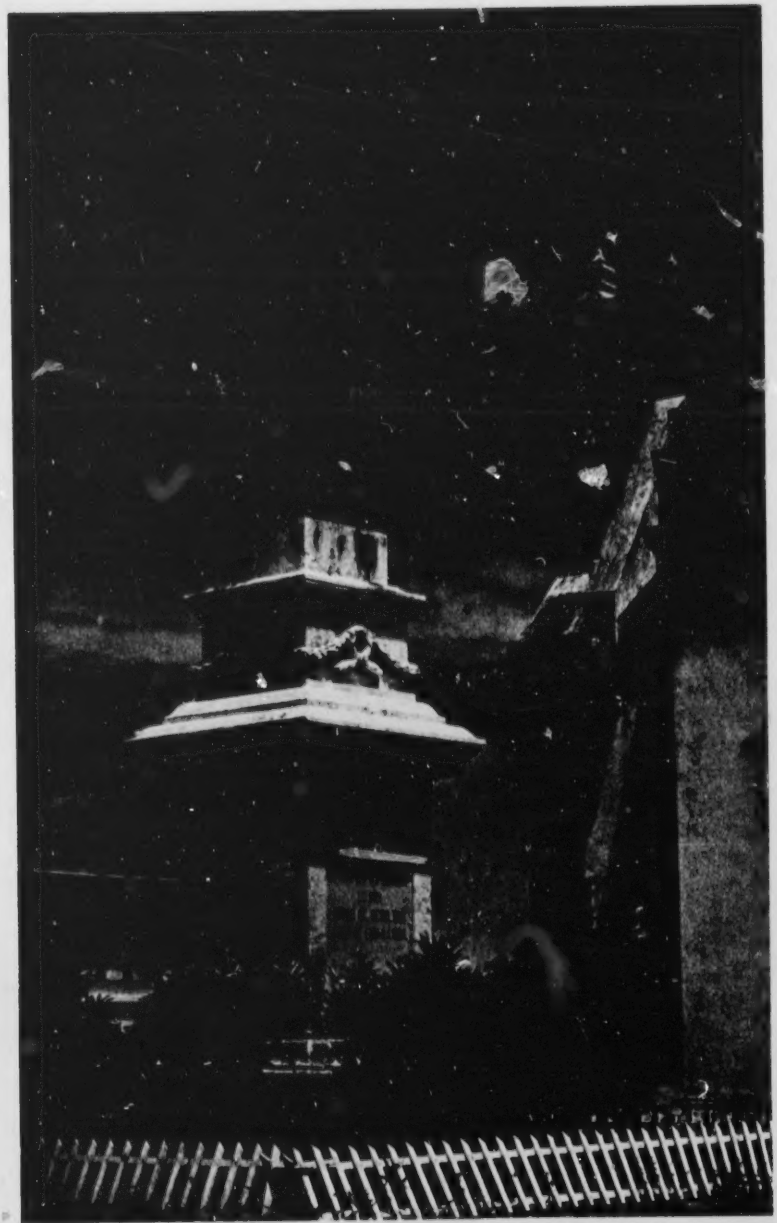
Discovery and Colonization

The 19th of November, known as Discovery Day in Puerto Rico, commemorates the date in 1493 when Columbus and his crew sighted the island which he named San Juan Bautista (St. John the Baptist) and the Indians called Borinquen. But except for this brief visit and a few expeditions for gold, the island remained largely unexplored.

Juan Ponce de León was the first governor of the Spanish colony. He had sailed with Columbus on his second voyage and later, in 1504, distinguished himself in battles against the Indians of Hispaniola. He had heard about gold on the island of Borinquen and requested permission of the General Governor of the Indies (as the Spanish governor was called) to explore and colonize the island of San Juan Bautista. He received permission and in August, 1509 King Ferdinand also ordered him to assign land and Indians to work the land for the Spanish colonists already living there and for thirty other persons en route from Seville, Spain. Within two years León was the Governor of a thriving colony. Thus the colonization of Puerto Rico had begun.

Political Unrest on The Island

From about 1510 to 1540 Puerto Rico was administered by a series of governors appointed sometimes by Columbus' successors, sometimes by the Spanish monarchs, and sometimes by the governor of Hispaniola. In all, there were twelve brief administrations marked by unrest and political instability.



Statue of Ponce de León in Old San Juan. (Puerto Rico Information Service)

It is probable that there would not have been such political turmoil had gold not been discovered on the island. This gold had been discovered by the early colonists in the form of nuggets in the island's shallow rivers. But by 1540 the rivers ceased to yield their former abundance of gold, thereby removing a strong incentive for remaining on the island. Furthermore, a series of five fierce hurricanes, three of them in 1530, wreaked havoc on the colonists' early agricultural ventures.

The decrease in the supply of gold, the destruction wrought by the hurricanes, the struggle with the Indians, combined with a severe smallpox epidemic, caused the colonists to lose interest in the island. As it was becoming clear that the island's gold was nearly exhausted, news reached the colonists that immense gold lodes were being discovered in Peru. Many Puerto Rican colonists who were experiencing hard times began to migrate to Peru. The island governor at the time, Francisco Manuel Lando, found that strong persuasive measures were necessary to keep the people from leaving. He suspended debts, which helped to slow migration to Peru. Another method, radical but effective, was to inflict bodily injury or even to execute those attempting to leave the country.

Strategic Value of Puerto Rico

Although the early colony of Puerto Rico may have been an economic disappointment, its strategic value as a bastion for protecting Caribbean interests was not overlooked by Spain. Since a strong military presence was necessary to combat England's ambition to control the high seas, Spain decided to convert Puerto Rico into a military stronghold. In order to accomplish this, Spain required Mexico to pay Puerto Rico a yearly tax called a *situado*. This became the island's main source of revenue and enabled the government to expand its military fortifications. And though the island of Hispaniola was the base of operations for the Spanish enterprise, there were regulations that required ships on the way to and from Spain to stop in Puerto Rico. These regulations ensured that Puerto Rico would have all the supplies that a military stronghold would need.

Piracy

From the 16th to the 19th centuries the island was attacked by pirates in the service of foreign countries that included England, France, and Holland. Although piracy was frowned upon in later

centuries, it was accepted during the sixteenth century, and the pirates were often lauded as heroes in their own countries. One of the most famous was Sir Francis Drake, who acquired much of his wealth by plundering Spanish ships. He was knighted by the British monarch because of his effective defense of English interests in the New World. On November 22, 1595, Drake and another pirate, Sir John Hawkins, made preparations for a naval attack on San Juan. The Spanish soldiers at El Morro were ready for battle, however, and their first shells killed Sir John Hawkins and two of Drake's captains. The battle lasted three days, but Sir Francis Drake, who had become ill with dysentery, finally had to retreat lest he lose his entire fleet to the guns of El Morro.

Realizing that attacks from foreign powers would become more frequent, Spain decided to speed up the building of defenses on the island. Hundreds of soldiers were sent to Puerto Rico to assist in strengthening the fortresses.

Attack by the English

Three years later, in May of 1598, George Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland, led a fleet of twenty ships towards Puerto Rico with the purpose of capturing the island for Queen Elizabeth. Instead of entering San Juan harbor, as Drake had unsuccessfully attempted, Cumberland landed his forces at Loíza, an undefended site to the east of San Juan. As his force of one thousand men advanced toward the bridge of San Antonio, the Spanish garrison which had come out to meet them opened fire. Cumberland suffered 50 casualties and was forced to retreat. In an attempt to isolate the defenders at the bridge, Cumberland landed a force of two hundred men behind the Spaniards. The Spanish forces anticipated this strategy and retreated to the city. Realizing that it would not be possible for him to defend the entire city, Governor Mosquera withdrew into the fortress of El Morro, occasionally sending out a raiding party to harass the British. Cumberland sacked and burned San Juan and then laid siege on El Morro. The battle continued until the walls of El Morro began to crumble under the British cannon fire. Although Mosquera had to surrender, all did not go well for the victorious Cumberland. An epidemic of dysentery killed half of Cumberland's soldiers, forcing him to leave the island. As the last of his troops withdrew, they destroyed a large section of the fortress walls.

Under the direction of a new governor, Alonso de Mercado, the inhabitants set to the task of rebuilding the city, its walls and El

Morro Fortress. The island enjoyed a period of peace lasting twenty-six years, during which the colonists feverishly prepared defenses against future attacks.

Administration of Spain's New World Empire

Because of the vastness of the newly discovered lands, it became necessary for the Spanish Crown to establish administrative bodies to assist in governing the new empire. One of these agencies was the *Consejo de Indias.* Established in 1511, the *Consejo* was in charge of the political and economic administration of the American continent. It had legislative powers and served as the supreme court of appeal for the Indies. Another agency, *Casa de Contratación* in Seville, established in 1503, closely regulated trade and travel between the Spanish colonies and Spain. The Crown insisted that all trade should be reserved for Castille, and should be carried through the port of Seville. Castille, however, was unable to supply all of the manufactured goods that the colonies needed and had to import many of them from other European ports. This situation was largely responsible for the flourishing smuggling trade in Puerto Rico and in other regions.

The Spanish-American territories were not colonies in the same way as the English were. All lands belonging to Spain were possessions of the Crown, which controlled them in the same manner as it controlled any province within Spain's continental demarcations. England, for example, freely permitted any English port to trade with the colonies. Nor did English authorities conduct inquiries into the character of persons wishing to emigrate to their colonies. Upon arrival to the New World, English emigrees were free to travel about and settle in places of their liking.

Spain, however, rigidly controlled Puerto Rican commerce. During much of the colonial period, Spain limited Puerto Rico's trade to the port of Seville, and later also to Cádiz. Spain also exercised the most rigorous scrutiny with regard to the character of the emigrees. A Spanish colonist was not free to travel about the island; he had to declare his destination and receive permission to travel. When he reached his destination he had to report his arrival and remain in the designated district until his return.

This system for governing the New World colonies was designed to protect the interests of the Spanish Crown. It was an arbitrary system of government that did not recognize the political rights of either the colonists or the native inhabitants. It concentrated all

legal and political power in the hands of the territorial governor who was responsible only to the Spanish Crown and not to the people that he governed.

Revolution in the Americas

The struggle for independence in Spanish America had its roots in the European revolutions of the 18th century, in the progressive weakening of the Spanish Empire, and in the antagonisms felt against the Spanish authorities by the descendants of Spaniards born in America. Many of these *criollos*, as they were often called, began to see themselves as Mexicans, Venezuelans, Argentinians, Puerto Ricans, etc., and to regard the territory in which they lived as their homeland.

The successful revolution waged by the thirteen American colonies against England served as an indication that it was indeed possible to gain liberation from colonial power. The time for revolt arrived shortly after 1808, when Napoleon Bonaparte of France decided to overrun Spain and Portugal with the hope of keeping England, his rival, from gaining a foothold on the European continent. The king of Spain, Charles IV, realized that his country would be unable to repel Napoleon's armies and that there would surely be a suspension of his reign for an undetermined period of time. Therefore, Charles IV granted his colonial governors *facultades omnimodas*, that is, undisputed power to do whatever necessary to maintain civil order.

After forcing Charles IV to abdicate, Napoleon imprisoned the young prince Ferdinand VII, and crowned his brother Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain. The Spanish people did not accept Joseph Bonaparte as their king, and a resistance movement for independence from the French invaders started within the Spanish provinces. French troops drove the Spanish resistance south to Cádiz where they formed a supreme *junta*, or council, which acted as Spain's government. Puerto Rico and the other Spanish possessions in America rejected Joseph Bonaparte but were also reluctant to accept the authority of the *junta*. Instead, they affirmed their loyalty to the king's son, Ferdinand VII. Spain, however, was not able to suppress entirely the colonists' passion for independence. Leaders like Simón Bolívar and Miguel Hidalgo had made their appearance, and such countries as Venezuela, Argentina and Mexico declared their independence.

From Spanish "Colony" to Spanish "Province"

In an effort to gain the support of the Spanish colonies, the Cádiz *junta* issued a decree in 1809 which proclaimed the conversion of all colonies into provinces on an equal standing with the provinces in Spain's continental boundaries. This new equality included the right to representation in the Spanish Parliament. Those colonies which chose not to revolt accepted this offer and prepared to assist Spain in her fight against the French emperor. Delegates from the loyal Spanish possessions were invited to join the representatives of the Spanish provinces in forming the *Cortes de Cádiz* (Spanish Parliament at Cádiz). Territorial and political equality were established, and the colonies were now called provinces. Spanish citizenship was granted to all people born in Spanish America, and each province was allowed one popularly elected representative.

Ramón Power y Giralt, a young Puerto Rican naval officer who at the time was fighting to liberate Santo Domingo from the French rulers, was elected to represent Puerto Rico in the *Cortes de Cádiz*. Just prior to his arrival, the *junta* was substituted by the *Consejo de Regencia* (Regency Council). However, the Spanish Parliament formed by the *junta* continued as an institution and Ramón Power participated in formulating the Spanish Constitution of 1812. As a result of Power's efforts, a number of reforms were won for Puerto Rico. Among these were the annulment of the *facultades omnimodas*, the separation of the island treasury from the governor's control, the opening of five additional ports to foreign trade, the unrestricted export of livestock, and the abolition of the government's monopoly over the sale of flour. It appears that these concessions were granted to colonies like Puerto Rico in order to stem the growing number of Latin American colonies turning to revolution in order to gain relief from Spain. In 1814, Ferdinand VII came to power and reestablished absolute rule. He dissolved the Spanish Parliament and annulled the Spanish Constitution. His one small concession to the island was to grant the *Cédula de Gracias* (Document of Grace or Concessions) in 1815. This document permitted limited but direct commerce with the United States and with several foreign colonies, extended permission to import slaves, machinery and livestock, and allowed the immigration of Roman Catholics from friendly foreign nations. These concessions permitted the island's economy to grow favorably during the next eight years.

A second attempt at constitutional government was made

during the period 1820-1823. On January 1, 1820, an insurrection took place under the direction of General Rafael de Riego, and King Ferdinand VII was obliged to reinstate the 1812 Constitution. Once again Puerto Rico was declared an integral part of Spain and received the right to elect a representative to the Spanish Parliament. This time the people elected Demetrio O'Daly as the Puerto Rican Deputy to the Parliament. One of his more important achievements was to convince the Parliament to grant the island separation of powers in such a way as to have the island ruled by a civil governor rather than a military governor.

The insurrection, however, was short-lived. Ferdinand VII returned to the throne in 1823 due to the intervention of the Holy Alliance, a pact formed between Austria, Russia, Prussia and Great Britain at about 1815. Once again, royal absolutism returned to Spain as Ferdinand VII dissolved the Spanish Parliament and reestablished the hated *facultades omnimodas*. Under the rule of Miguel de la Torre and the rule of the next thirteen governors, Puerto Rico was stripped of even the most basic civil rights. For a period of forty-two years, the Crown appointed governors who used their power to terrorize the Puerto Ricans in order to discourage revolutionary activity. The *facultades omnimodas* allowed the governors to proclaim any *bando* (governmental regulation or decree, usually involving some sort of prohibition) that they desired, to dismiss any government official at will, to detain, arrest or imprison any person, to allow the entry of immigrants from South America only after rigorous search and questioning, to establish a night curfew and prohibit evening meetings, and to declare vagrant anyone who did not have a job or other means of support.

With the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, the new ruler, Queen Isabella II, found herself obligated to reinstate the Spanish Constitution of 1812. This time, however, the Spanish Parliament determined that the constitution's provisions did not extend to Puerto Rico. Instead, the parliament promised that special laws would be prepared for the governance of the colonies, and the island of Puerto Rico remained under the tyranny of the *facultades omnimodas*.

Although some governors did not use their power to impose harsh *bandos*, others, like Juan Prim, and Juan de la Pezuelas, went to extremes in their despotic rule. During Prim's rule, which began in 1847, there was a Black slaves' revolt on the island of Martinique. Prim, fearing that the slaves' notion of revolution might spread to Puerto Rico, signed a decree (a *bando negro)*

which imposed severe penalties on any member of the Black race who committed a minor crime. Pezuelas established the *sistema de libretas* (system of passbooks). This humiliating regulation required that each laborer register with the local authorities and carry a passbook in which his employers were to indicate the period of employment, salary and a commentary on the worker's conduct.

Although the Spanish government had established a commission to study the needs of the colonies as early as 1838, it was not until 1865 that representatives from the colonies were invited to present testimony which would serve as the basis for reform. One of the major issues at the time was the question of slavery on the island. Many Latin American countries had by this time freed their slaves, and the United States had just suffered a civil war over the question of slavery. The Puerto Rican governor, José María Marchesi, sent a delegation to Spain confident that the delegation would not ask for abolition and thereby threaten his own interests in the maintenance of slavery.

In Spain, also, the special commission attempted to minimize the importance of the slavery question and attempted to bar discussion of the issue. But the Puerto Rican delegates refused to overlook slavery and brought the subject up as a matter of prime concern. Needless to say, their call for the abolition of slavery, political equality with Spain, freedom of speech, press and assembly, and civil rights was totally ignored by the commission and the delegates returned to the island without having been granted any of their demands. Some thirty years had passed since the Spanish Parliament had promised the colonies that it would formalize legislation for the governance of the Indies. It now appeared that Spain would tarry for many more years before implementing the long delayed recommendations.

The Movement for Independence from Spain

With the failure of Spain to introduce any permanent changes in the island's government, a separatist movement took shape. Yet, as on other occasions, this movement lacked the support of the majority. The people were divided into three factions: a coalition of *Peninsulares* (as Spaniards living in Spanish America were called) and Puerto Ricans who approved the established government as it was, a liberal faction who wanted representation in the Spanish Parliament and political parity with the Spanish provinces,

and the beginnings of a group advocating complete separation from Spain.

Fearing the continued growth of a separatist movement, the governor of Puerto Rico, José María Marchesi, seized upon an uprising among a group of artillerymen as an excuse to prevent the possibility of a much larger patriotic upheaval. First he executed Benito Montero, the leader of the artillerymen. Then he ordered the island's leading patriots to appear before the authorities in Madrid. Six of the men obeyed Marchesi, but Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances and Segundo Ruiz Belvis, two of the most respected and outspoken separatists, fled to Santo Domingo and then to New York where they joined a society for the Liberation of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Betances invited the leaders of the liberal faction to join him in his struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. Not wanting to take the risk of an armed revolution, the majority of the liberal leaders rejected the invitation. Although deeply disappointed, Betances decided to proceed with his plans. In December of 1867 Betances returned to Santo Domingo and founded the Revolutionary Committee of Puerto Rico. Within a short time numerous chapters sprang up on the western half of the island.

Although the despotic Governor Marchesi was replaced by the milder Julián Juan Pavía, plans for a revolution were now in full swing. In order to outfit the revolution, Betances purchased 500 rifles, 6 cannons and a small ship. But careful preparations were of no avail when one of the rebels, Pedro García, was arrested while soliciting funds for the movement. On his person the military police found a document listing the names of other insurgents. This led to the discovery of additional incriminating documents in the home of Manuel María González in Camuy. In his possession was detailed information about the various revolutionary chapters in other towns. When González was arrested, his brother Carlos Martínez went out to kill those who had taken him prisoner. On September 22, a meeting was held in the home of Matías Brugman and it was decided to attack Lares the following day. Manuel Rojas was elected commander of the troops.

The Lares Uprising

On September 23, 1868, the troops entered Lares at midnight shouting "Long Live Free Puerto Rico." They had no trouble taking the town, since their attack came as a surprise and the small local garrison was not prepared to oppose hundreds of men armed

with small firearms and machetes. That morning the leaders declared the Republic of Puerto Rico and set up a provisional government with Francisco Ramírez Medina as president. The flag of Spain was replaced by one designed for the republic by Betances and sewn by the seamstress and revolutionary María Bracetti. This flag is now known as the flag of Lares.

One of the new government's first acts was the declaration of an oath stating that they would be willing to die for their cause. A celebration followed in which José Vega, a priest loyal to Spain, was compelled to offer a mass of thanksgiving for the successful liberation of the city. During the celebrations, word of the uprising reached Spanish forces at Aguadilla. In a battle in the San Sebastián region the royal forces completely routed the ill-equipped subversives. Over the course of a month, numerous skirmishes occurred in the mountains. The rebels were either killed or imprisoned, along with a large number of innocent people who were implicated because of their political activity. The *Grito de Lares*, like previous liberation movements, had failed. The importance of the event lies in the fact that it had become a symbol of valor and independence of spirit.

Fight for Liberation Fails

During this period, Queen Isabella II was forced to abdicate and the Cortes established a constitutional monarch choosing as the new king Amedeus, Duke of Aosta. Once again Puerto Rico was granted the right to send representatives to the Cortes. Slowly the island achieved a number of reforms, including the creation of an institute for secondary education and freedom of the press. On March 22, 1873, it was decreed that slavery be abolished within a period of five years and slaveholders received monetary renumeration from the Spanish government to cover their loss of slave labor.

The Emergence of Political Parties

Political parties did not make their appearance on the island until the 1860s. Their names changed often but their political goals remained fairly consistent. The majority of the island's population was divided between the Conservatives, who favored the status quo, and the Liberals, who were further subdivided between those who wanted assimilation with Spain and those who desired autonomy for Puerto Rico. The Conservatives strongly

opposed autonomy, and believed that such a goal was disloyal to the Spanish government.

In 1887 a group of Liberals under the leadership of Román Baldorioty de Castro, a Puerto Rican secondary school teacher and journalist, met in Ponce and openly advocated individual suffrage, national sovereignty, decentralized local government for the towns, civil liberties and a republican form of government. Afraid that the new platform of the Autonomist Party might cause the loss of many of their patronage positions, the Conservatives convinced the Spanish government of the island's need for a strong ruler. Lieutenant General Romualdo Palacio Gonzalez, whom many historians feel was an extremely sadistic and despotic man, was appointed as Puerto Rico's new governor. Palacio González suppressed the Autonomist Party and established the infamous series of harsh punishments known as the *componte*s. This word may be loosely translated as "straighten up or else." These regulations permitted the imprisonment and torture of anyone who opposed Palacio González. Hundreds of liberals were arrested, imprisoned, tortured and murdered by the *Guardia Civil*. Many had to flee the island or hide in the mountains or countryside.

Finally a group of leaders who had escaped to the Virgin Islands informed the government in Madrid of the atrocities committed by Palacio González, and asked for his removal from office. Realizing the truth of the accusations, the Spanish government recalled him and appointed General Contreras as Puerto Rico's next governor. Contreras restored civil rights, but the memory of Palacio's persecutions resulted in strong anti-Spanish feeling among some islanders who demanded independence more and more passionately.

As a result, a group of Puerto Ricans who favored independence for their island formed a Puerto Rican independence committee in New York and adopted what was later to become the Puerto Rican flag -two white and three red stripes with a lone white star in the center of a triangular blue field.

The Promise of Self-Government Under Continuing Spanish Rule

In 1896 the Spanish Liberal Party came to power in Spain and formulated a constitution which included establishing self-government on the island of Puerto Rico. The constitution provided that the island be governed by an insular parliament consisting of two Chambers, and by a Governor-General acting as the representative of the mother country. The parliament had the power to pass

legislation on matters of concern to the island. This included the right to frame the local budget, participate in the formulation of commercial treaties, and determine the island's tariffs and duties. The Governor-General had the right to suspend civil rights and to refer to the Spanish Council of Ministers any act of the insular parliament which he believed went beyond its powers. The authority of the Governor-General seems to have been broad enough to override the parliament and personally rule the island if he felt it was necessary to safeguard Spain's interests.

In November 1897 the Charter of Autonomy was decreed, and in 1898 the first Puerto Rican cabinet was appointed and elections were held for the first legislature. That same year the war between the United States and Spain prevented further implementation of the Charter. Thus Puerto Rico, after finally achieving a measure of independence, became a pawn in the Spanish-American War and never had the chance to test the provisions of its Charter and explore the extent of its autonomy.

The Spanish-American War

During these years Spain was also involved in a struggle with rebels on the island of Cuba, who wanted independence for their country. Mateo Práxedes Sagasta promised them an autonomous government, but the Cuban rebels would only accept complete independence. Under the pretext of protecting the lives of its citizens, the United States sent the battleship *Maine* to Cuba. In February of 1898, the *Maine* was mysteriously blown up in the port of Havana. The United States demanded reparations from Spain, but the Spanish government denied any responsibility and refused to make reparations.

Soon the cry of "Remember the *Maine*" was heard all over the United States. The pro-war pressure came not only from the political and commercial interests of this country, but also from many newspapers and the population at large. In April, 1898, the United States declared war against the Spanish Crown. Spain found itself involved in a war for which it was ill prepared. Politics in Spain were in a very confused state, the Spanish army was too far from America, and the Spanish fleet was obsolete and could not seriously challenge the American navy. In only two encounters, one in the Bay of Manila in the Philippines and the other in the Bay of Santiago, Cuba, the Spanish fleet was destroyed.

In New York, some members of the revolutionary *junta* asked the United States government to invade Puerto Rico and liberate

it. Foreseeing the political danger of this agreement, Eugenio María de Hostos, one of the *junta's* leaders, strongly opposed it. But it was too late. In May of that same year an American fleet approached the Bay of San Juan. On July 25, 16,000 American troops were landed in the town of Guánica and won their first battle against the island forces. Two days later, the city of Ponce was taken.

In Puerto Rico, the war lasted only 17 days and the casualties were very few. On October 18, 1898, the island's government surrendered to General John R. Brooke, head of the American forces. It appears that the people warmly greeted the Americans. Public opinion seemed to be that the Americans were bringing the island a new era of peace and prosperity.

Chapter 3

The Social and Economic Impact of Spanish Rule

More than anything else, it was Spain's system of government that dictated the direction in which Puerto Rico's economy and society were to move from the early 16th century to the island's annexation by the United States in 1898. Spain practiced a form of colonialism in Puerto Rico that was designed to ensure total dependence on Spain and complete subservience to the Spanish Crown. In Puerto Rico the colonial system meant that the island's inhabitants played absolutely no role in governing themselves, and that they had little opportunity to develop the skills appropriate to citizenship. It was a system of government that gave no access to individual free expression or to a sense of community.

An Insular Society

Puerto Rican society under Spanish rule was shaped primarily by the conservatism of the Spanish Crown. Excluded from foreign trade and commerce, Puerto Rico was also excluded from foreign cultural and intellectual influences. In the same way, Spain's denial of a fair commercial interchange between itself and the colony resulted in the denial of a cultural and intellectual interchange.

Spain was especially fearful that the liberal ideas of the rebellious colonies of the Caribbean and North America, and the increasing liberal tendencies of Europe, and especially France, would influence Puerto Rico. It became important to Spain to isolate Puerto Rico from the liberal and revolutionary spirit of the times. This isolation was imposed economically by the restriction of trade, and socially by strict censorship laws and a refusal by

Spain to develop educational facilities. Time and again the Crown refused ever-increasing demands for a local university, maintaining that those who wished to study could do so in Spain. It was decidedly to Spain's advantage that only the most wealthy members of society could afford to educate their children.

Influence of The Church

The Catholic church in Puerto Rico was also a primary factor in the direction that Puerto Rican society was to take. The Catholic church that was established in Puerto Rico was part of the Spanish Catholic church and it was strongly dependent upon the Spanish Crown. Only priests approved by the King were permitted to migrate to the Indies, and these priests worked in the New World to protect the interests of the Crown.

From early colonization onward the church operated as an agent of social control with authority to enforce its laws and its ethical values. On the positive side, it pioneered the founding of many towns and villages, which were built around a nucleus formed by the church at one end, a municipal hall at the other, and a plaza between them. On the negative side, it preached absolute loyalty to the Spanish Crown, in spite of the often tyrannical rule imposed upon Puerto Ricans by military rule.

The Church was responsible for the education of the island's children. In this position of authority it helped enforce the insulation of the island by exercising a strict censorship over material taught and by discouraging young Puerto Ricans from attending schools in North America on the grounds that they would be exposed to the corrupting elements of secularist thought.

Social Structure

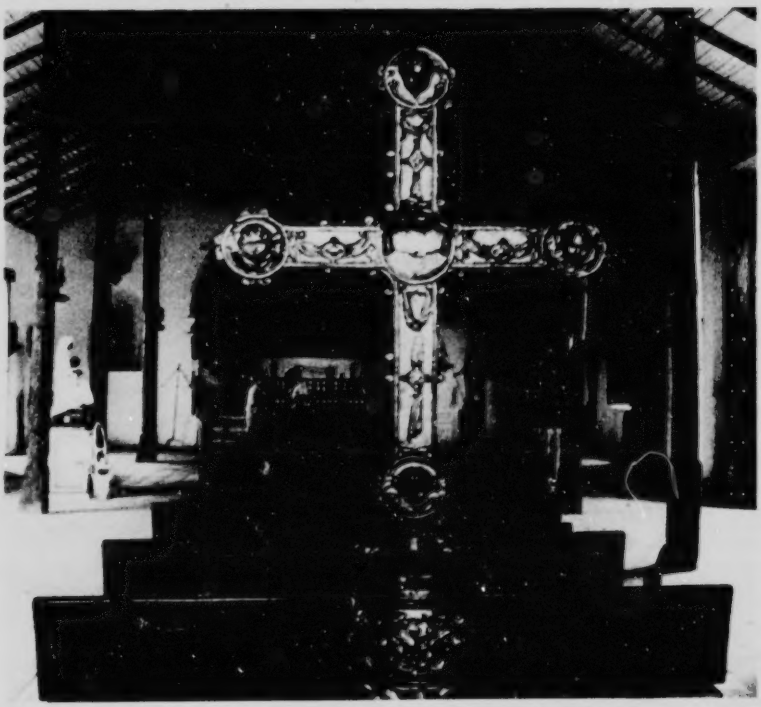
The social structure of Puerto Rican society under Spanish rule was both simple and rigidly stratified. Society was composed of a number of different clearly defined groups and it was virtually impossible for the members of one group to move into another.

At the top of the social strata was an upper class composed of wealthy Spaniards and their descendants who were cattle breeders, sugar plantation owners, and Spanish officials (civil, military, and ecclesiastical). This group later became the island's principal landowners. Next there was a very small middle class. This group was composed of small independent farmers, most of whom were

Puerto Ricans of Spanish descent, and independent working-class artisans who produced handicraft goods, a growing number of whom were the offspring of interracial marriages. There was also a lower class comprised of landless laborers who were a racially heterogeneous group of white *jíbaros* and those of mixed ancestry, free Indians, Blacks and slaves. These groups remained fairly fixed in size and access to power until the late 19th century when, because of more economic freedom, the small independent farmers and artisans grew in number until they comprised the majority of the population.

Spanish Mercantilism

Puerto Rico's economic relationship with Spain was one of strict mercantilism. Mercantilism denotes the practice whereby a colony is required both to produce the raw materials needed by the mother country and to purchase manufactured articles from the mother country. For centuries the mercantile system was



Interior of the 17th century Porta Coeli Church in San Germán, which is now a museum of religious art. (Commonwealth of Puerto Rico)

employed by European nations to control the economy of their colonies. Early in her colonization of Puerto Rico, Spain adopted an extreme policy of mercantilism, prohibiting the manufacture of any products for local consumption. The colony's trade was restricted to the Spanish ports of Seville and Cádiz, and trade with other countries, including other Spanish colonies in the Caribbean area, was prohibited.

Until 1530, Spain was primarily interested in importing the island's gold. The islanders had no recourse but to import clothing, tools, paper, oil and other necessary items from Spain. As the island's source of gold was depleted, Spain lost interest in Puerto Rico's economic needs and concentrated her attention on the vast sources of gold in the Aztec and Mayan empires.

During the 17th century Puerto Rico exported ginger, sugar and leather hides to Spain in quantities too small to bring wealth to the island. As tobacco showed signs of becoming an important crop, the Spanish government permitted its cultivation but imposed a monopoly, prohibiting its sale to foreigners under punishment of death and confiscation of property. In Puerto Rico, as in other colonies, the merchants were forced to sell their products at prices fixed by the *Compañía de las Indias* in Seville. But while Spain imported the island's goods, it was blatantly delinquent in sending merchant ships to Puerto Rico with finished products. Sometimes Spain allowed as much as ten years to pass before sending a merchant ship.

This impossible situation forced the Puerto Ricans to skirt Spanish law and do business with Dutch and English contrabandists from nearby islands. The contrabandists purchased Puerto Rico's much sought after sugar, coffee and tobacco which they then sold in the markets of Holland and England. The contrabandists traded their merchandise for Puerto Rico's livestock and agricultural products in isolated ports scattered around the island. Many Puerto Ricans found it more profitable to become dealers in contraband commerce than to raise crops which, when sold to Spain, brought little profit.

Expansion of The Island's Economy

The economic growth of Puerto Rico began slowly during the 18th century, when Spain began to loosen some of its control over Puerto Rico's right to trade. First, Spain permitted Puerto Rico to trade at several different ports in Spain and the West Indies, and later, at the turn of the 19th century, permitted Puerto Rico itself

to open several new ports. These measures were instrumental in increasing the volume of trade and stimulating a more stable economy. The growth of a tobacco crop, although frowned upon by the Spanish Crown, slowly became an important part of the island's economy. Coffee had already developed into a valuable cash crop, while livestock continued to be a lucrative export industry.

Decline of Spain as a World Power

The weakening of the Spanish Crown was the underlying factor that contributed to Puerto Rico's economic development. Even before the 19th century Spain had been reduced to a second-rate power. Although Puerto Rico continued to be loyal to the Spanish Crown, it nevertheless benefited from Spain's predicament and won a substantial degree of economic freedom.

As the volume of trade with foreign countries grew, money, banking and credit became important. But perhaps the most important change brought about by the new freedoms permitted by Spain was the development and growth of agriculture.

Development of Agriculture

The relaxation of trade restrictions brought about an increase in the island's population through immigration and thus a growth in the amount of land under cultivation. During this period in the 19th century there were three important trends in the use of this land. First was the increase itself of the land now cultivated. Second was the decline of the production of subsistence goods like plantain, rice and maize. Third was a corresponding rise in commercial crop production.

The new world markets stimulated the growth of Puerto Rico's sugar industry and improvements in its technology. By the middle of the century steam mills outnumbered less efficient methods of production. The government also greatly encouraged the cultivation of coffee and exempted growers from paying taxes. Large-scale production became profitable, and during the last decade of the 19th century the export value of coffee was three times that of sugar. The cultivation of tobacco, however, received little encouragement from the Spanish government. Nevertheless, because it could be grown in rotation with subsistence crops, tobacco also became an important product. During the 19th century it was called the poor man's cash crop. Other important

sources of income were cotton and livestock, and by the end of the 19th century some of the wealthiest Puerto Ricans were cattle breeders.

Slavery

Slavery had an enormous impact on both the economic and social development of Puerto Rico. The Spanish, at first, had solved the problem of hard labor by using the native Tainos as slaves. But, unaccustomed to this heavy manual labor, and wracked by a number of diseases for which they had no immunity, the Tainos grew ill and died in large numbers.

The Spanish Crown strove for cultural, racial, and religious homogeneity among the American colonists. Thus, in spite of the growing need for manual laborers, the importation of slaves and other elements considered discordant was discouraged. In 1511 for example, the Crown instructed Nicolás de Ovando, Governor General of the Indies, to exclude Moors, Jews, and heretics from the Spanish-American colonies and to admit slaves only if they had been born in Spain and were accompanying their Spanish masters of the New World.

Even so, advocates of the introduction of slavery into the New World were not lacking. Dominican friars had come to the New World with the first colonists to provide for the religious instruction and conversion of the Indians. The friars became devoted to the Indians and were horrified at the destruction which the system of *economiendas* was inflicting upon them. In a desperate search for an alternative to the enserfment of the Indians, the friars, one of the most prominent of whom was Bartolomé de Las Casas, seized upon slavery as an alternative to Indian serfdom, though Las Casas subsequently regretted having done so. In his *Historia de las Indias* (History of the Indians), Las Casas expressed deep regret for his involvement in the establishment of slavery in the New World.

The Spanish Crown did reverse its policy so as to permit the importation of Black slaves into the Americas, not as a humanitarian alternative to Indian serfdom as Las Casas and others had advocated, but as an economic necessity. The destruction of the Indian population by overwork and disease, combined with the abhorrence of the Spanish colonists for manual labor, made a new source of labor necessary. In 1518, on the recommendation of the *Casa de Contratación* (Department of Trade), the Crown allowed a Flemish nobleman to import 4,000 slaves from Guinea to the Indies. The introduction of Black slaves did indeed lead to the

abolition of Indian serfdom in 1544. It was too late, however, to save the Taino Indians from extinction.

The number of Black slaves grew rapidly during the early years of the island's settlement. Although Spain had been excluded from Africa by Papal arbitration in 1493, and was therefore not directly involved in the African slave trade, the Spanish Crown did grant licenses to slave traders from Genoa, Holland, England, and France to import slaves into Spanish America.

Voyage to Puerto Rico

The majority of the slaves who were brought to Puerto Rico came from the Congo and the Coast of Guinea. The Blacks who populated these regions had reached a much higher level of material and social development than the Taino Indians. They were an agricultural people ruled by kings or chieftains, with a well-developed and complex religion, and numbered among them were accomplished artisans and sculptors. They were physically stronger than the Indians and capable of very hard work.

The slave traders sailed for Africa in ships laden with European goods—cotton, textiles; objects of brass, pewter and ivory; guns; liquor, and foodstuffs. Upon their arrival at the African trading posts, the traders established contact with the chiefs and the local tribe. The chiefs' assistants then gathered the men, women, and children, who were sold at prices previously agreed upon. On almost all occasions the captured offered resistance to their enslavement, sale, and transportation. Battles often broke out between tribes when the members of one sought to capture members of another.

The voyage to America was a nightmare. Most ships were extremely overcrowded, and lacked even the most basic hygienic facilities. Disease often assumed epidemic proportions, smallpox was common, and the mortality rate among the slaves was sometimes as high as 50%. Considering the extreme privations imposed upon them during the voyage and after their arrival, the slaves who survived showed an amazing ability to cope with alien and cruel conditions and a capacity for endurance under conditions which had defeated the Indians.

Slavery and Christianity

There were three types of slaves on the island—those who worked as domestic servants in their masters' homes, those who

labored on their owners' plantations or farms, and those who were leased to other settlers as field hands. Of these three types of slaves, the domestic servants fared best. They were often able to obtain some degree of education and many were considered by their owners as members of their own families.

As they had previously done with the Indians, the Spaniards attempted to erase the culture, religion, and customs which the slaves had brought with them from Africa to the New World. Their aim was to make Spaniards and Christians of them, and they were largely successful in achieving these goals. When a slave ship arrived at the island, the priests would visit it. Even before the slaves were put ashore the priests would begin to instruct them in the Catholic faith and Spanish morality. Later, when the newly arrived slaves had been sold, masters were required by law to continue their religious instruction. This policy was instrumental in accelerating the assimilation of Blacks in Puerto Rico. By 1800, except for those who had arrived only recently, the slaves had lost most of their African traditions and had adopted Hispanic customs and values.

The Form of Slavery Practiced in Puerto Rico

It is believed that slavery in Puerto Rico, as in other Spanish American colonies, never reached the inhuman conditions encountered in the English colonies. There were a number of reasons for this. Even as compared with other Spanish colonies, the number of slaves in Puerto Rico formed only a small part of the population. For example, the Puerto Rican slave population was only 12% as large as that of Cuba. Most Puerto Ricans were too poor to be able to afford slaves, even at the lower prices which were charged by the smugglers who brought their cargoes to the island's shores. Scarcity of labor was almost constant, with the result that the slave owner had an inducement to treat his slaves well.

A further indication of the more humane attitude that governed the maintenance of slavery on the island was the position of the authorities on the subject of fugitive slaves from other colonies. Elsewhere the fugitives would have been considered a threat to the island's slave population, and they would have been returned forcibly to their masters. In Puerto Rico, however, as early as 1664 a royal decree guaranteed the liberty of all runaway slaves who reached the island from other colonies as long as they were willing to become good Catholics and loyal subjects of the Spanish Crown. As a result, several hundred slaves from nearby islands fled

to Puerto Rico. A century later, on the initiative of Governor Miguel de Muesas, the village of San Mateo de Cangrejos was founded as a haven for these fugitive slaves, and by the end of the eighteenth century its population had grown to 700.

Racial Discrimination

Perhaps most important of all in mitigating the evils of slavery was the relative absence of racial discrimination among white Puerto Ricans. This was one aspect of their Spanish heritage. As was noted earlier, it was the policy of the Spanish Crown to draw the slaves into the circle of Spanish culture and Catholic faith. In this way the common humanity of master and slave was acknowledged. Common identity of slave and master fostered by the shared possession of culture and faith was intensified by the relatively small number of white women accompanying the colonists to Puerto Rico. Especially during the earlier years of colonization, life on the island lacked the comforts to which most Spanish women were accustomed. Therefore, a number of colonists postponed marriage or left their wives in Spain and had children with their female slaves. Feeling a moral obligation to these children, most masters freed not only these children, but the children's mothers as well. This meant that there gradually developed within the island's population a growing number of free persons who were either Black or of mixed racial ancestry.

At one point the Spanish government and the Catholic Church feared that as a result of this practice the economic stability of the island would be adversely affected and that the increasing number of interracial liaisons would give rise to a large racially mixed population. To counteract these trends, measures were taken to inhibit the freeing of slaves and interracial marriages were discouraged. Marriages between slaves, however, were encouraged. These measures were only partially successful and in 1827 the island's census showed a population of 162,311 whites, 100,430 persons of mixed ancestry, 26,183 free Blacks, and 34,240 slaves.

Growth of Population

The number of free Blacks and people of mixed ancestry continued to increase while the proportion of slaves in the island's population decreased accordingly. The Spanish government then undertook further measures to increase the white population of the island. In 1835 Black slave trade in Spanish colonies was

prohibited. In 1837 the Spanish *Cortes* resolved to allow only white immigrants into Puerto Rico and to encourage the already flourishing immigration of white Catholic settlers from Europe and other parts of America. These new settlers were given plots of land and other economic advantages. They came by the thousands to settle in the different areas of the island. The settlers included Spaniards from almost all the provinces of Spain, Spaniards and sons of Spaniards from Louisiana, Venezuela, Santo Domingo and the other emerging Spanish American nations, Irish, Italians, French, Scotch, and other Europeans. During the remainder of the 19th century these settlers continued to arrive in Puerto Rico, bringing with them a wide variety of cultural values and attitudes. In time many of their customs and mores were modified and incorporated into the predominant Puerto Rican culture.

Abolition of Slavery

Because slavery was not as important an institution in Puerto Rican society as it was elsewhere, and also because Blacks and whites were not rigidly segregated, as indicated by a decree of 1770 which required that free children be educated in the island's schools regardless of race, slavery was peacefully abolished on the island on March 22, 1873. Although the decree of abolition did grant full civil liberty to the freed men, it required that they enter into three-year contracts with their former masters, and that as freed men they wait an equal period of time before they enjoyed full political rights. The government reimbursed the slave owners for their financial losses.

After the abolition of slavery, several laws were passed to insure the protection of the former slaves' civil rights. One of them reaffirmed the rights of Blacks to be served in all public establishments. Another opened all municipal schools to children of both races. The acceptance of the freedmen by the island's white citizens demonstrated the high level of social and cultural integration that its people had achieved by 1873. In the words of the Black Puerto Rican intellectual and political leader Dr. José Celso Barbosa, "To us Puerto Ricans, superiority is manifested not in the race, not in our darker or lighter skin, but in our morality, and in our intellectual capabilities. These are the factors that we consider essential for individual or collective superiority."

PART II

Puerto Rico Under United States Rule

Chapter 4

Puerto Rico As A Territory

Puerto Rico Prior To Annexation

Spain was ultimately successful in isolating Puerto Rico from the liberal and revolutionary spirit that characterized the nineteenth century. Although there was a growing liberal movement in Puerto Rico between 1815 and 1898, Puerto Rico continued to seek solutions for its internal problems directly from Spain. Desire for political, economic and social freedom was expressed not in calls for independence, but in elaborate negotiations with various political factions in Madrid who were either in positions of power or who were likely to come into positions of power. In this sense the direction of Puerto Rican society was largely defined by the capricious movement of Spanish and not local politics.

Puerto Rico did in fact enjoy a number of social and political reforms during this period. For the most part they were reforms granted out of Spain's need to retain Puerto Rico as a counter-revolutionary base of operations in the Caribbean. The real problem was that Spain was unable to produce the reforms that were necessary to sustain even her own society. Thus, it is not surprising that she was unable to offer the kind of freedom necessary to transform Puerto Rico from a dependent mercantile colony to a stable and self-governing republic. Many Puerto Ricans believed that this dream of a self-governing republic could be realized under the influence of American democracy. Puerto Ricans enthusiastically welcomed the first of the American armed forces to the island.

The cession of Puerto Rico to the United States came as a shock to the members of the Revolutionary *Junta* in New York. Until

the armistice they had believed that the American forces had come to Puerto Rico to liberate the island from Spain. Some Puerto Ricans had fought on the American side and had taken the town of San Germán where they installed a new mayor. Others, like Ramón E. Betances said, "If Puerto Rico does not act fast it will be an American colony forever." Eugenio María de Hostos formed an organization, the League of Patriots, which demanded a plebiscite to permit the Puerto Rican people to decide between annexation and independence. His demands, however, were ignored.

By the Treaty of Paris, in December 1898, without even consulting the island's autonomous government, Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States. Thus ended Spanish power in the Caribbean. A new era under the flag of the United States of America began.

The Era of Military Government

During the first years of American rule the autonomists were suspicious of the intentions of the new rulers, but they did not openly oppose the government. The Autonomist Party, under the leadership of Luis Muñoz Rivera, was reorganized and its name changed to the Federal Party. Its objectives, which were very moderate, included civil government, universal suffrage, free commerce with the United States, and municipal autonomy. The Pure and Orthodox Party was also reorganized as the Republican Party with a platform similar to the Federal Party.

From 1898 until 1900 Puerto Rico was governed by the military. Three officers, totally ignorant of the history, language and culture of the Puerto Rican people, served as governors of the island. The first was General John R. Brooke, who made no major changes in the political structure of the government, with the exception of recognizing the authority of the United States Supreme Court in Puerto Rico. He allowed the *Gabinete Autonómico* (Autonomous Council of Administration) to continue its functions, and most of the Spanish laws remained in effect.

General Brooke was replaced by General Guy V. Henry. Conflict arose between General Henry and the members of the *Gabinete Autonómico.* He therefore abolished the *Gabinete* and organized in its place four departments. Henry also placed the police directly under his command and oversaw the change to American currency.

The third governor was General George W. Davis. General Davis' rule was dictatorial and created extreme discontent among the Puerto Rican people. He removed most civilians from their positions in the various departments and replaced them with military officers. He also named an American, who did not speak a word of Spanish, as head of the Department of Education and declared English as the language of instruction on the island.

The Era of Civil Government Under American Governors

In 1899, when municipal elections were held, the Federals won in a large majority of towns. Realizing that it would become more difficult for the United States to govern Puerto Rico with military personnel, the American Government decided to establish a civil government. It did so with the enactment of the Foraker Act, which went into effect on May 1, 1900. The Foraker Act established a civil government, but did not grant citizenship to the Puerto Ricans, who were instead considered citizens of Puerto Rico.

The governor, who was appointed by the President of the United States for a term of four years, exercised executive authority. The Legislature was divided into an Executive Council and a House of Delegates. The Executive Council was composed of eleven members, six of whom were Americans who also acted as heads of the various departments under the governor. The other five were Puerto Ricans. The House of Delegates was composed of 35 representatives, elected by popular vote. All laws had to be approved by both branches of the Legislature. This meant that, in reality, the Puerto Ricans lacked legislative powers, since each law had to be approved by the Executive Council, in which Americans were in the majority.

The judges of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico were also appointed by the President of the United States. The judges of the district courts were appointed by the governor with the approval of the Executive Council. In judicial matters, Puerto Rico was under the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of Boston. The people of Puerto Rico were allowed to elect a Resident Commissioner to the Federal House of Representatives who spoke for the island, but did not vote. One of the few positive changes in the economic and political structure of the government was the exemption of Puerto Ricans from federal taxes.

Dissatisfaction and Internal Conflict

The Foraker Act was not well received by the Puerto Rican leaders who were expecting a plebiscite that would bring either independence, statehood, or territorial self-government for the island. They believed it was a step backwards from the Charter of Autonomy. Some *independentistas* started talking about "the good old Spanish days" and said that American rule was illegal because the *Gabinete Autonómico*, the legal representative of the people of Puerto Rico, was not consulted in the signing of the Treaty of Paris by which Puerto Rico had been ceded to the United States by Spain.

Although during this period there were two political parties, the Federals under Luis Muñoz Rivera and the Republicans under José Celso Barbosa, three different solutions to Puerto Rico's political status began to gain popularity. Barbosa believed that the United States would eventually grant statehood to the island if the Puerto Rican people demanded it. Muñoz Rivera felt that both statehood and independence were future possibilities, but that at the time the only feasible solution was self-government as an American territory.

During the first few years of the twentieth century, the anger and despair that many Puerto Ricans felt under the Foraker Act surfaced in a series of clashes between the more liberal faction of the Federals and a group of those Republicans most favorably disposed to American rule. The Federal Party was dissolved and in 1905 the Union of Puerto Rico Party was formed. The new party included the Federals and a group of the more liberal Republicans. In its platform the Union of Puerto Rico was willing to accept territorial self-government. From 1904 until 1924, the Union of Puerto Rico Party won all general elections, and regularly demanded more liberal laws from the Congress of the United States. Most of these demands were consistently ignored.

In 1910 the House of Delegates refused to approve any legislation, including the annual budget, until a more liberal charter was granted. President Taft considered this bordering on anarchy, and said, "We have gone somewhat too fast in the extension of political power to them. . ." Congress then passed a bill approving the island's budget of the previous year.

Puerto Rico Granted Citizenship

Pressure for more liberal legislation continued as late as 1916. Finally, on March 2, 1917, just before the United States entered

José Celso Barbosa, founder of the *Partido Republicano de Puerto Rico*. (Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, Inc.)

the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones Act which conferred American citizenship on Puerto Ricans and granted a number of individual rights and civil liberties.

Puerto Rico became an organized but unincorporated territory that belonged to but did not form part of the United States. The legislative power was separated from the executive. The Legislature was bi-cameral and included a Senate, consisting of 19 members, and a House of Representatives with 39 members. All legislators were elected by popular vote every four years. The President of the United States appointed the Governor, the Commissioner of Education, the judges of the Supreme Court and

some of the other more important officials. The Governor appointed the other judges and the department heads. The Jones Act also made Puerto Ricans subject to the draft.

One of the most controversial men of this period was Santiago Iglesias Pantín, a Labor leader of Spanish birth. After having been expelled from Cuba for attempting to organize the workers, he went to Puerto Rico where he was imprisoned several times. After the change of sovereignty, Iglesias Pantín founded the Regional Federation of Workers and in 1908 the Insular Workers' Party which was later called the Labor Party. Santiago Iglesias Pantín advocated statehood and had strong connections with the Socialist Party in the United States.

Political Confusion and Misunderstanding

The first four decades of American rule were characterized by a series of misunderstandings between the Puerto Rican people and the island's civil governors. Many of the civil governors were political appointees. The islanders' democratic ideas for the improvement of their social, political and economic conditions were frequently opposed by American officials who were fearful of losing some of their authority. Political intrigue and compromise were common, and even the most capable and well-educated Puerto Ricans lacked opportunities for advancement.

From 1916 to 1921 three of the island's outstanding politicians died. With the death of José de Diego, Luis Muñoz Rivera and José Celso Barbosa, the island's political structure fell into disarray, resulting in the formation of new political parties. In 1922, the Union of Puerto Rico Party, which was then under the leadership of Antonio R. Barceló, introduced a bill in Congress calling for autonomy for Puerto Rico, but the bill died in committee. Several separatists from the Union of Puerto Rico Party, angered by this turn of events, left it and formed the Nationalist Party. This new party's platform called for immediate independence.

By 1924, Santiago Iglesias's Socialist Party was growing in strength. Fearing that it might win that year's elections, the Union of Puerto Rico formed an alliance with the Republican Party. The more conservative of the Republicans rejected the alliance and formed the Constitutional Historical Party. The Alliance won that year's elections but there was discontent among many of its leaders, and a group of dissidents under the leadership of Antonio R. Barceló formed a new party, the Liberal Party. In 1932 the Constitutional Historical Party and the Alliance formed another

new party, the Republican Union Party, under the leadership of Rafael Martínez Nadal. To add to the extreme political confusion of that period, the Republican Union Party formed an association with the Socialist Party under the name of Coalición Unión Republicana Socialista (Republican Union-Socialist Coalition). This association of old political opponents won the 1932 and 1936 elections against the Liberals and the Nationalists.

The 1930's

The 1930's were very difficult years for Puerto Rico. The lack of understanding which existed between the representatives of the United States government and the Puerto Rican leaders, and the near-starvation that many of the *jíbaros* in the countryside suffered during the Depression years reduced the island to a state of political and economic tension. Although most Puerto Ricans did not accept violence, a group of separatists, among the more militant of the islanders, accepted the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos, a Harvard Law School graduate, and President of the Nationalist Party. Albizu Campos argued that the acquisition of Puerto Rico by the United States under the Treaty of Paris was illegal, and organized a group of armed followers called *Cadetes de la República* (Cadets of the Republic).

In an armed encounter with the police, three nationalists and one bystander were killed. Albizu Campos promised the death of the Colonel of the Insular Police, Francis E. Riggs. On a Sunday, while Colonel Riggs was walking in San Juan, two young Nationalists, Hiram Rosado and Elías Beauchamp, shot and killed him. In the confusion Beauchamp and Rosado escaped, but soon the police captured and beat them to death. Although they regretted the killing of Riggs, the islanders were horrified by the slayings of Rosado and Beauchamp.

The political situation worsened. There were more encounters between the Nationalists and the Insular Police. Albizu Campos and seven other Nationalists were arrested and sentenced to prison terms of 6 to 10 years.

The Ponce Massacre

In the midst of this situation, the Ponce Nationalist *Junta*, a branch of the Nationalist Party, was given permission by the local authorities to hold a parade on March 21, 1937. When word of this decision reached Governor Blanton Winship in San Juan, he

revoked the permit and called it "a defiance to all authority on this island." The Nationalists ignored Winship's order, congregated in the Marina Street, and were surrounded by a crowd. The police blocked the side streets. When the Nationalists started playing Puerto Rico's national anthem *La Borinqueña*, a shot was fired—it has never been officially determined who fired it—and soon widespread shooting began. The Nationalists returned the fire. Soon there were 20 dead and 100 wounded. The American Civil Liberties Union investigated the situation and declared the Ponce events a massacre.

After the Ponce Massacre, there was an attempt on the life of Governor Winship and several other clashes between the police and the Nationalists. Albizu Campos was sentenced to life imprisonment, and when the Nationalists found themselves without their leader, the movement subsided.

After the Nationalists' revolt, Senator Millard Tydings introduced a bill in Congress calling for the independence of Puerto Rico. However, many of the island's leaders who opposed the Nationalists believed that independence would cripple the island's weak economy. The Tydings Bill was not passed. The political situation in Puerto Rico remained the same until Luis Muñoz Marín, the son of Luis Muñoz Rivera, entered the political scene.

Popular Democratic Party

In 1932 Luis Muñoz organized a new party and in 1938 registered it in the town of Barranquitas under the name of the Popular Democratic Party with the emblem of a *jíbaro* wearing *la pava* (a straw hat). Its slogans were *Pan, Tierra y Libertad* (Bread, Land, and Liberty) and *Jalda Arriba* (Up Hill) which later became "Operation Bootstrap." Declaring that "The political status is not an issue," Muñoz was able to attract a number of talented political leaders of diverse political outlook who were willing to put aside their differing political beliefs and concentrate on developing the island's economy. With the cry of *No vendas tu voto* (Don't sell your vote) he changed the peasants' fatalistic attitude of "No matter who wins, the island's situation will be the same, so I might as well get a couple of dollars and a few good meals for my vote," to one of "Maybe the future will bring something better for my family and my friends. I am not selling my vote this time."

To the surprise of everyone in Puerto Rico and in Washington, the Popular Democratic Party, supported by the majority of the island's poor, won the 1940 elections by a small number of votes.

From 1944 to 1964 the Popular Democratic Party won every election by a landslide.

World War II

With the entry of the United States into the Second World War, Puerto Rico was again, as in the Spanish era, considered vital in the defense of the Caribbean waters. Military bases were established on the island. Thousands of soldiers, sailors, and marines were sent to Puerto Rico and thousands of Puerto Ricans volunteered.

Against this background of political turmoil and economic difficulty, President Roosevelt appointed Rexford Guy Tugwell governor of Puerto Rico. Tugwell's orders were to make the government more responsive to the island's needs. With the help of Luis Muñoz Marín, who was then the Senate Leader, he reorganized the government. Tugwell also gave the Puerto Rican leader great support in preparing the way for Operation Bootstrap.

In 1945 Senator Tydings introduced a bill in Congress which called for the independence of Puerto Rico, and which provided for a transitional period and a number of economic concessions. Muñoz Marín asked Tydings to withdraw it and in its place suggested a plebiscite which would include the other alternatives. Tydings declared, however, that there was no support in the United States for granting statehood to Puerto Rico, and withdrew his bill.

Puerto Rico Becomes A Commonwealth

Muñoz's action angered the *Populares* leaders who favored independence, and caused a split within the Popular Party. Many withdrew, and under the leadership of the lawyer Gilberto Concepción de García formed the Puerto Rico Independence Party. In 1946 a group of *independentistas* appealed to the United Nations to solve the status of the island. In 1946 President Harry S Truman appointed Jesús T. Piñero as the island's first governor, and the next year a bill was passed which allowed Puerto Rico to elect its own governor. In 1948 Luis Muñoz Marín became the first elected governor of the island. Settling for a middle-of-the-road political philosophy, in what his opponents considered an about-face, Muñoz endorsed a new status, the *estado libre asociado* (commonwealth) for the island.

Chapter 5

Puerto Rico Becomes A Commonwealth

On July 3, 1950 the Congress of the United States approved an act known as Public Law 600 to provide for the organization of a constitutional government in Puerto Rico. The people of Puerto Rico were instructed to organize a government based on a constitution of their own creation and approved by the island's qualified voters. Upon adoption by the people, the constitution was to be submitted to Congress for approval by the United States.

The Puerto Rican voters accepted the provisions of Public Law 600 on June 4, 1951, and two months later ninety-two delegates were elected to a Constitutional Convention which met for four and a half months. The delegates framed a constitution that resembles the American Constitution. It contains a Bill of Rights and provides for the separation of governmental powers into the legislative, judicial and executive branches. It is modeled after the best features of the federal and all the state constitutions. Its Bill of Rights, however, is broader than the American Constitution, and it introduces innovations into the three legislative branches in order to meet the needs of Puerto Rico's newly developing industrial economy. The new constitution was presented to the people in a referendum on March 3, 1952 and it was ratified by a vote of 373,594 to 82,877.

Choice of The Word "Commonwealth"

In order to describe their political creation, the Constitutional Convention of Puerto Rico had to select an appropriate name in English as well as in Spanish. They chose to use the English word

commonwealth, referring to a politically organized community (a state) in which power resides ultimately in the people (therefore, a free state), but which at the same time is linked to a broader political system by treaty or compact.

Since there exists no Spanish word equivalent to commonwealth, it was necessary to use a phrase which would include the three ideas of state, liberty and association. They decided on the phrase *estado libre asociado*, which in English means free, associated state. However, since the word state commonly refers to one of the States of the Union, this literal translation was rejected. The appropriate translation for *estado libre asociado* is Commonwealth.

Meaning of The Word Commonwealth as Applied to Puerto Rico

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a community associated with the United States by a compact between Congress and the people of Puerto Rico. In this association, the Federal government exercises the same kinds of responsibilities and authority over Puerto Rico as it does in its relationship with the various states. The government of Puerto Rico exercises local self-rule, but unlike the states of the Union, Congress grants Puerto Rico generous economic concessions and the privilege of altering its political status should future needs justify a change.

Rights Retained by The American Government

In recognizing Puerto Rico as a commonwealth, Congress did not relinquish those rights which are inherent in sovereignty. For example, Puerto Rico is not permitted to borrow money on its own credit except under very limited conditions, nor is it allowed to coin money and fix its value. It may not regulate commerce with foreign nations or establish its own postal system. Local military activities are limited to a national guard since Puerto Rico cannot declare war, raise or support armies, maintain a navy, or make treaties with foreign nations. United States maritime laws also apply to Puerto Rico.

Furthermore, the island of Puerto Rico remains the legal possession of the United States, and Puerto Rican citizenship is determined by Congressional law. Congress also reserves the right to abolish the Puerto Rican Constitution, although such an action on the part of Congress is most improbable. The judicial process is subordinate to the Supreme Court of the United States and federal

law prescribes the function of the single Puerto Rican official who is a non-voting member of the House of Representatives. United States internal revenue taxes (e.g. on cigarettes, gasoline) apply to Puerto Rico, although the money is returned to the Commonwealth government. Finally, only the President of the United States has the power to return federal land to the Commonwealth.

Advantages of Commonwealth Status for Puerto Rico

From the point of view of the Popular Democratic Party, the advantages of commonwealth status are numerous. This new status is founded in the mutual consent of Congress and the people of Puerto Rico and embodies association with the United States rather than union among the states. This new relationship therefore eradicates the former colonial status of a territory. Statehood is irrevocable while commonwealth status can be changed for a better arrangement. Within the terms of the compact, the Commonwealth can amend its constitution by a two-thirds vote of the legislature. Commonwealth status also enables Puerto Rico to enjoy certain economic benefits which it would not were it independent or a state, but it still allows full local self rule.

In various ways, the Commonwealth differs from the status of the federated states. No taxes are collected for the benefit of the treasury of the United States. Thus, for example, the excise tax on Puerto Rican rum, which must be imposed so that other brands made in the United States will not be at a disadvantage, is returned to the insular treasury to benefit Puerto Rico.

Although Puerto Rico has no voting representation in the Federal Congress, it does have a commissioner who has a seat in the House of Representatives with all privileges except the vote.

The "Independentista" Position

The desire for independence grows out of a love of *patria*. *Patria* is usually translated homeland but it means more than soil, countryside and geographical boundaries. *Patria* includes the people and their customs, heritage and outlook on life. Love for *patria* therefore means love of Puerto Rican national uniqueness. The *independentista* asserts that any kind of political program, whether it be annexation or absorption, which threatens to eradicate the Puerto Rican nationality and right to sovereignty, must be firmly rejected.

The *independentistas* object to the entire process by which Puerto Rico became a commonwealth. The typical argument goes something like this: First, Puerto Rico has always been denied the right to select its government freely. During the 54 years prior to 1952, the United States never allowed the Puerto Ricans to choose between statehood or independence. When Congress gave the Puerto Ricans a chance to decide their political destiny, the alternatives were stacked in favor of some sort of satellite relationship with the United States. In Public Law 600 Congress invited the Puerto Ricans to vote not on the *kind* of political status they desired, but on whether they wanted to organize a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution. If they voted in favor of a convention, then any constitution drafted by that convention would have to conform with the stipulations of Public Law 600.

Thus the alternatives were a constitutional government subservient to the constitution of the United States, or continued territorial status. An *independentista* would argue that a truly unrestricted choice should include the possibility of 1) living under American domination 2) conversion to statehood 3) creating a new relationship with the United States or 4) conversion to an independent country.

While much enthusiasm has been generated over the fact that Puerto Rico is a *free* associated state, in actuality the Puerto Rican Constitution is totally devoid of any attributes of sovereignty. The states of the Union, which are also officially known as commonwealths, are more sovereign than Puerto Rico. Their citizens, through Congressional representatives, can determine federal policy and enjoy all the powers not specifically delegated to the federal government. This is not true for Puerto Ricans.

Arguments Against Independence

The major argument against independence in the late 1940's was that once independent, Puerto Rico could not survive without extensive economic aid and special trade agreements with the United States. If Puerto Rico were cut adrift completely from the United States, according to Muñoz Marín, the people of Puerto Rico would endure extreme financial deprivation and would ultimately repudiate the government for creating such adverse economic conditions. Muñoz believed that "only under some form of status in association with the United States in which we retain our American citizenship could we preserve the good economic

conditions which are necessary for our survival."

The *independentista* has recognized the basic truth of Senator Tydings' remark, "To submit independence to the Puerto Rican people without giving them a reasonable chance of survival would be a crime against humanity." But opponents have exploited the bleak economic consequence of independence. Furthermore, the spectre of a Cuban-type revolution and confiscatory program tends to dim the glitter of independence. However, the Puerto Rico Pro Independence Congress, a non-partisan movement, believes that the question of liberty should not be couched only in terms of misery, hunger, death and the threat of communism. They prefer to base the question of liberty on "principles of justice, mutual benefit and reciprocity convenient for both countries." In a statement to the House of Representatives, the Puerto Rico Pro Independence Congress proposed several economic conditions which would guide the island through the transition period after independence. These include creating a committee which will negotiate a commercial treaty with the Department of State and elimination of Federal appropriations on a graduated basis over a period of twenty years.

Present Independista Activity

At the present time the University of Puerto Rico is the focal point for *independentista* activity. While there are several parties that advocate independence, the largest one is the Puerto Rican Independence party headed by a young lawyer and former professor at the University, Rubén Berríos. Its membership consists of lawyers, professors and a host of young people from the affluent middle and upper classes. The party advocates nonviolent civil disobedience as the means for attracting the attention and support of the island's urban and rural slum population. Recently the PIP helped a group of poor people build shanty housing on a government-owned farm in direct violation of a law which prohibits encouraging squattters. Among the party's major goals is the nationalization of the island's larger industries.

Violence as a means of attaining independence is advocated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. This group believes the U.S. *Yanquis* took the island by force in 1898 and has since then subjected it to colony status with force. They therefore reserve the right to use as much violence as necessary to oust the *Yanquis*. This party claims credit for the outbreak of violence at the University of Puerto Rico campus in March 1971. Friction

between R.O.T.C. cadets and *independentista* students erupted into a riot in which three persons died and sixty-two were wounded.

Violent tactics and socialistic ideologies do not, however, characterize all contemporary *independentistas*. The Puerto Rico Unity Party, led by Rubén Gonzales, believes the democratic electoral process can be the vehicle to eventual independence. It is this party that continues to entertain the notion that nationhood is possible if coupled with a transitional period of economic assistance from the United States.

The Statehood Position

Puerto Ricans who favor statehood generally represent the wealthier inhabitants of the island. A new, growing middle class is enjoying economic prosperity and is relocating in the cities and suburbs where they are building bright new concrete villas. This newly affluent group tends to work at protecting its property and station in life. Political independence therefore threatens their security. It is the local Republican party that favors statehood and benefits from this growing group's conservative tendency.

The Republican Party

The party's membership is composed of upper middle-class professionals and intellectuals, and the party leadership is made up of wealthy individuals. The party leader and former governor of Puerto Rico, Luis A. Ferré, is president of a large complex of industries and also owns a large cement industry in the southern part of the island. The economic conservatism of the Republican Party's membership would best be served by eventual political and economic assimilation with the mainland. They regard the current commonwealth status as a phase through which the island must pass on its way to statehood. Prior to the adoption of commonwealth status, it was clear even to them that the island simply could not support the economic burden of statehood. But they believe that the time will soon come when the island will become more prosperous than many mainland states, and at that time statehood will become inevitable.

The privilege of voting in national elections is often presented as an important reason in favor of statehood. Their argument states that it is humiliating for proud people to be citizens of the United States and yet not be permitted to take part in selecting the

nation's highest leaders. They claim that the secret of true freedom for Puerto Ricans lies in statehood. Only then will Puerto Rico be rescued from misery and become an equal participant in American democracy.

The Road To Statehood

The road to statehood has been clearly defined in recent years by the cases of Alaska and Hawaii, which show that there must be a history of stable politics and economics. A clear majority must demonstrate a desire for statehood over an extended period of time. The American people, through Congress, must be willing to admit the new state into the Union. Puerto Rico has demonstrated that it has a stable political and economic environment. However, while there is growing sentiment for statehood, the island has yet to register a clear and sustained majority in favor of this alternative.

Finally, the American people have yet to crystallize their opinion on the question of statehood for Puerto Rico. Two points of view seem to prevail on the mainland: The first point of view welcomes Puerto Rico's rich culture, but insists that federal-state structure requires a common tongue. It would not be wise to establish a "language ghetto" within the federal system and thereby create the kind of conflict that divides French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians. English must become the official language of Puerto Rico, and Spanish the island's second language.

The proponents of a second point of view do not see language as an insurmountable barrier, nor do they believe that statehood would require the island to surrender the Spanish language. Puerto Rico's growing bilingual capability will, with time, minimize language as a barrier to statehood. Over twenty countries have at least two official languages, and the system works well. These include Switzerland, Belgium, India, Israel, Czechoslovakia and Finland. Canada's language difficulty is a symptom and not the cause of differences between French-speaking and English-speaking Canada.

Arguments Against Statehood

As in the case of independence, the main argument against statehood centers on the economic effects of such a move. Should Puerto Rico become a state, the United States Bureau of the Budget in 1958 estimated that Puerto Rico's contribution to the

federal government would amount to at least $188 million. By contrast the commonwealth revenue for that year was only $203 million. Statehood enthusiasts reject this kind of comparison and have sponsored their own studies which give a brighter economic picture under statehood conditions.

The 1967 Plebiscite on The Status Issue

In 1962 the Legislature of Puerto Rico asked the United States Congress to grant its people a plebiscite to determine whether they would prefer statehood, independence or commonwealth status. Congress approved a bill in 1964 which established a commission to study "all factors bearing on the present and future relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico." This commission consisted of seven Continentals selected by Congress and the President, and six Puerto Ricans appointed by the island's governor. As a result of the Commission's findings, it was decided that the people of Puerto Rico should be consulted on the status of the island, and an act providing for the plebiscite was passed in December, 1966.

At the Republican Statehood Party's convention, a majority voted to boycott the plebiscite, claiming that the PPD had organized the plebiscite to destroy the Statehood party. One of its leaders, Luis A. Ferré, rejected his party's majority decision, declaring that at the very minimum, the "ideal" of statehood must be kept alive. While there was a clear risk of losing the plebiscite, statehood would probably indicate a strong enough following to warrant another plebiscite at a later date. Ferré organized a splinter group, "Statehooders United" and placed it on the plebiscite ballot. The *independentistas* called the plebiscite a fraud and generally chose to abstain. However, independence also appeared as an alternative on the ballot.

On July 23, 1967, the people of Puerto Rico went to the polls to declare their preference on the vexing question of political status. The results showed a preference for Commonwealth by a 60.4 percent majority. Statehood achieved an impressive 39.0 percent and independence 0.6 percent.

Emergence of The New Progressive Party

Luis Ferré, who had thrice run for Governor unsuccessfully with the Statehood Republican Party, permanently broke with that party

after the plebiscite and formed the New Progressive party. To everyone's surprise, his newly formed party won the 1968 elections with 45 percent of the votes. Two reasons explain this incredible turn of events.

First, Roberto Sánchez Villella, the incumbent governor who had been elected in 1964 on the powerful Popular Democratic Party ticket, broke with his party and formed the splinter People's Party. This move neutralized the pro-Commonwealth vote, with 42 percent going to the PPD, and 10 percent going to the People's Party. Second, Luis Ferré, a millionaire industrialist, employed a new and sophisticated advertising campaign.

Ferré promised *la nueva vida* (the new life) and energy to invigorate the island's government. Very cleverly, as Muñoz had done in 1940, he soft-pedalled the question of the island's status, and stressed the importance of preserving Puerto Rico's Hispanic culture and language. He said that statehood for Puerto Rico depended upon the desire of the majority of the Puerto Ricans and Congress's willingness to grant it.

Resurgence of The Popular Democratic Party

The gubernatorial election of November 1972 brought about the surprising defeat of the incumbent governor, Luis Ferré. Throughout the preceding political campaign, Ferré's New Progressive Party (NPP) had been predicting victory for the pro-statehooders. Their optimism was backed by favorable public opinion polls and also by the large enthusiastic crowds that attended the rallies throughout the island.

The impressive electoral victory of the Popular Democratic Party, however, swept Rafael Hernández Colón into the governorship and gave him a solid majority in both legislative chambers. This outcome indicates that Puerto Rican voters are issue-oriented, that they want good government and will not tolerate less, and that they can resist heavy and sophisticated advertising campaigns.

The initial reaction on the island was that Ferré lost because of four issues which received sensational press coverage during the campaign—the rate hike in water, the rate hike in electricity, the government-sponsored political ads, and, in the closing weeks of the campaign, charges of corruption on the part of a few government officials. While these issues were on the minds of the electorate at voting time, it is also clear that the election results reflect the voters' attitude toward more substantial issues. The heart of the matter seems to have been an overwhelming satisfaction with the common-

The Hon. Rafael Hernández Colón, Governor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
(Economic Development Administration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico)

wealth form of relationship with the United States. Conversely, it indicates a fear of statehood and all the uncertainties implied in this more demanding form of tie with the United States. While in office, Ferré pressed for statehood. This was contrary to his own 1968 campaign promise that a vote for his party was in no sense a vote in favor of statehood. In rejecting a pro-statehood stance, the people have affirmed their desire to see continued development of the commonwealth concept as espoused by its main supporter, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD). It also indicates the voters' renewed faith in the PPD which, prior to Ferré's four-year tenure, had directed the country's leap from a backward, agricultural economy to a progressive, industrial society—a society in which strikes are not a daily occurrence, crime is effectively controlled, the economy prospers, and the people enjoy relative tranquility.

The Problems Today

Although Puerto Rico still faces the serious problem of widespread poverty, the island has achieved a high level of economic development and technological refinement. In its platform, the PPD commits itself to an intensive battle against poverty by totally supporting the concept of industrial development and by pursuing a policy which will expand the economy. The *populares* have made a commitment to revise the present tax system in an effort to obtain sorely needed public revenue. The search for new sources of income are curtailed, however, by the pressing need to broaden the scope of the tax exemption statutes in order to increase the attractiveness of Puerto Rico as a site for locating new business institutions.

The party has also pledged to intensify its programs of technological and supervisory training, so that the island will have the resources of skilled labor which can be used in specific technical positions, rather than a large force of unskilled laborers whose value to a highly technological industry is limited. Other areas in which the new government desires to reach new accord with the federal government are customs, tariffs, internal revenue, employee-employer relationships, working conditions and minimum salaries, control over air and local maritime trade, control over and licensing of the mass communications media (radio and television), and the consultation and agreement of Puerto Rico in those international treaties and political declarations executed by the United States which directly affect the people of Puerto Rico and its territory.

Chapter 6

Puerto Rican Economy Under United States Rule

The annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States created enormous economic and social changes on the island. The social change brought about by economic development and by the impact of American culture on the existing Puerto Rican culture surfaced slowly. The economic changes, however, were immediately and dramatically visible. Shortly after Spain's surrender of the island, the United States incorporated Puerto Rico into its federal structure, changed its currency to the dollar, and absorbed its foreign trade.

Puerto Rico's Early Economy

Prior to the Spanish American War the island's economy was dominated by the coffee, sugar cane, and tobacco industries. Revenue from these crops provided the major support for service industries such as transportation, communications, and banking. Of these three, coffee was much more highly developed than either the sugar cane or tobacco industries. This was due in part to the fine quality of Puerto Rican coffee, and in part to the protective tariff on Puerto Rican coffee under Spanish rule.

Coffee

After the United States annexation of Puerto Rico, tariff protection was given to sugar, tobacco and needlework, but not to coffee. This gave impetus to the production of these crops at the expense of coffee, and also at the expense of livestock and subsistence crops. Although Puerto Rico petitioned Congress to enlarge tariff protection to include the coffee crop, Congress denied

the request since it would have meant imposing duty on all coffee imported to the United States from foreign countries at a cost that would have been passed on to the American consumer.

Puerto Rican coffee, considered the best in Europe, suffered from a further loss of markets during World War I, mainly because of increasing competition from the Central and South American countries. The weather also contributed to the demise of coffee on the island. In 1928, a hurricane which the Puerto Ricans named San Felipe ravaged the island, destroying homes, trees and crops. The hurricane not only destroyed the coffee plants, but also uprooted the vital trees that give the coffee plants shelter from the sun. Four years later, in 1932, when the new and still unproductive coffee plants were only a year away from harvest, another hurricane, San Ciprián, devastated the land. Finally, the Depression in 1936 and World War II brought the death blow to Puerto Rico's European coffee market.

Tobacco

The need for Puerto Rican tobacco diminished as the cigarette grew in popularity throughout the world during the 1920's. Due to the climate, the kind of tobacco produced in Puerto Rico is suitable for exquisite cigars but unsuitable in the manufacture of cigarettes. Despite the new popularity that cigar smoking is now enjoying, it is doubtful that tobacco will ever become a major crop. Attempts to develop a strain of cigarette tobacco that would flourish in Puerto Rico's climate continue to remain unsuccessful.

Sugar

The United States' lack of interest in Puerto Rican coffee and the smokers' preference for cigarettes over cigars quickly turned Puerto Rico into a one-crop sugar economy. Other industries such as molasses, rum, fruits, and nuts had only a minor role in the island's economy.

Sugar cane production expanded from 39,200 tons in 1898-99 to 1,147,591 tons in 1941-42, and the number of *cuerdas* (each *cuerda* is about the size of one acre) employed in its cultivation increased from 72,144 in 1899 to 230,000 in 1940. The increase in the acreage dedicated to sugar cane came not only from the former coffee farms, but also from lands which had been given over to the cultivation of food crops and to pasture for livestock. Many of the smaller sugar cane plantation owners could not compete with the large corpora-

tions and were forced to sell their lands. They became a landless proletariat. By the 1930's, 60 percent of the sugar under cultivation was controlled by absentee owners who lived in the United States and 46 percent of the total acreage given to the cultivation of sugar cane was in the hands of only four absentee North American corporations.

The large concentration of land in the hands of absentee owners *(latifundism)* created serious socioeconomic problems. The paternalistic relationship between laborer and farm owner was replaced by a highly impersonal one in which the laborers were no longer considered as individuals with human needs but as cogs in the plantation system. They were paid minimal wages (12¢ an hour average) and were laid off when production lagged. As the cultivation of subsistence and local consumption farms diminisned, the economic self-sufficiency of the island was reduced. Food and mass-produced goods began to be imported in increasing quantities from the United States and the population of the island became increasingly cash-conscious.

Needlework

The major non-agricultural industry was needlework. Most of the workers were women who worked in their homes sewing garments that had been previously cut on the mainland. Needlework accounted for 61 percent of all manufacturing employment, 17 percent of exports, and 22 percent of the manufacturing income. Needlework provided employment for many thousands of Puerto Ricans, but the salary was only a meager four to five cents an hour.

The island's desperate conditions became even worse in 1935 when a federal law established 25¢ as the minimum hourly wage. Many of the needlework employers could not pay the new minimum wage and closed their factories.

Economic Crisis

The 1930's might very well be considered the worst years in Puerto Rican history. Besides absentee ownership and *latifundism*, Puerto Ricans had to cope with two devastating hurricanes and the Great Depression. The island's economy was so dependent on American commercial interests that when the Depression hit the American economy its effects were even worse in Puerto Rico. Money became scarce, there was mass unemployment, and because by this time few people owned subsistence farms, many of the *jíbaros* either virtually

starved or became increasingly malnourished. Many farm laborers had no alternative but to become beggars. Men and women begging for alms in front of private homes became a common sight in the towns and countryside of Puerto Rico.

One of the very few positive measures taken during this period was the transfer of Puerto Rico from the War Department to the Department of Interior and the establishment of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration through the efforts of Luis Muñoz Marín, Carlos Chardón, and other civic leaders.

Although there was some slow economic development, the picture in 1940 was a bleak one of rapid population growth, unemployment and low living standards. At that time the island had an average of 546 people per square mile. This average far exceeded places like India, renowned for their population density. Furthermore, the rising birth rates and decreasing death rates were adding 2 percent to the population each year.

Because of the decrease in coffee production, the unfitness of tobacco for cigarette consumption, and the seasonal nature of the sugar cane industry, one out of every five Puerto Rican adults was unemployed. Homes were overcrowded and salaries were one-fifth of the average mainland salary.

Shift To A Diversified Economy

Puerto Rico's shift from an economy based primarily on sugar to a diversified industrial economy began in 1940 as the newly formed Popular Democratic Party sought to win control of the insular government. This party played down the seemingly eternal question of political status and in its place advanced a platform of social reform and industrial development. It was apparent that the agricultural economy, as it existed, and even in its most productive potential state, could not provide employment for the island's growing population. Thus the pressing need for industrial employment became a valuable political plank in the PPD platform.

Popular Democratic Party

Luis Muñoz Marín and his PPD crystallized the agonizing economic issues of the day in succinct slogans that captured the imagination of the voters. Muñoz gave substance to his promise of *Pan-Tierra-Libertad* (Bread-Land-Liberty) in his program *Jalda Arriba!*, which means "Uphill!". It is better expressed in English by still another catchy phrase coined in 1947, *Operation Bootstrap.*

This phrase is a composite metaphor couched in military phraseology, here indicating a battle for production. It also pictures an entire nation "pulling itself up by its own bootstraps."

Land Reform

In the early 1940's, economic well-being and social status were still closely associated with land ownership. The Popular Democratic Party took steps to change this situation by passing the Land Act of 1941. While the Organic Act of 1917 had declared that no corporation could own more than 500 acres of land, forty-one corporations nevertheless exceeded this limit by a combined total of 249,000 acres. Under the new Land Act, acreage held in violation of the Organic Act was purchased by the government. This land was used to establish small family farms, small plots for the homes and gardens of landless farm workers, and cooperative farms in which the profits were divided among the workers. Other measures that attempted to improve the laborers' working conditions included strengthening the labor unions, regulating such basic industries as sugar production, and organizing the beginnings of a social security system.

As part of the government's economic expansion program, electric power facilities, transportation, communications, water supply and sewage facilities were greatly expanded and consolidated into islandwide networks. These projects gave the island a generous supply of resources crucial to a program of massive industrial expansion.

Economic Development and PRIDCO

The heart of the government's program was its direct supervision of the island's economic development. In 1942, the government created the Puerto Rican Industrial Development Company, commonly known as PRIDCO, a government agency empowered to open new companies and encourage private enterprise. Two other important agencies were established at this time. The responsibility of planning for the future and coordinating the work of other development agencies was given to the Puerto Rico Planning Board. The new fiscal agent which loaned money to private industries and to PRIDCO was the Government Development Bank.

Prior to the end of World War II, PRIDCO concentrated on building and operating government-owned plants. A bottle-making plant was created to ensure the bottling and exportation of rum. By

June 1944, PRIDCO had invested $3.9 million toward the completion of its glass factory. Then, in order to ship the bottles produced by the glass corporation safely, PRIDCO created the Puerto Rico Pulp and Paper Corporation. This company had a yearly production capacity of 12,000 tons of paper, two-thirds of which was used to produce corrugated boxes for packaging bottles.

PRIDCO also started a shoe factory. This was a less successful venture because the factory was unable to produce the constantly changing variety of shoe styles demanded by mainland and insular fashions. However, PRIDCO's attempt to fabricate shoes did not end in total failure. The government sold its plant to a mainland shoe company, and, since 1950, has helped 70 companies open plants which produce dress shoes, sandals and athletic shoes. The company employs 10,000 workers who earn an average of approximately $1.50 per hour. In 1968 production totaled 30 million pairs of shoes, and exports to the United States for fiscal 1968 rose to 68 million dollars.

After the war, PRIDCO changed its emphasis from building and operating factories to attracting private industry and capital from the mainland. In order to make the establishment of a branch company on the island an attractive proposition, the agency was empowered to offer industrial services, factory buildings, loans, and management consultation to help mainland businessmen adjust to the Spanish business environment.

Operation Bootstrap

Yet, by early 1947 only ten small businesses had been established with the help of PRIDCO. This slow development was due to PRIDCO's inexperience, to the island's lack of resources, and to the lack of a favorable business climate.

The problem of attracting business to the island became much easier with the inauguration of Operation Bootstrap later that year. Help also came in 1946 and 1947, when the legislature passed two tax exemption acts. The second act, which superseded and greatly expanded the first, granted newly established businesses a ten-year exemption from Puerto Rico's income tax, property tax, and municipal license tax. Since Puerto Rican citizens and businesses are not subject to federal Internal Revenue taxes (or to federal income taxes), PRIDCO now possessed an imposing array of incentives with which to lure business to the island. Mainland corporations saddled with federal, state, county and even city corporate and income taxes could open a branch in Puerto Rico and realize significant savings.

The combination of tax incentives, PRIDCO's helpful variety of services, and the abundance of a large labor force willing to work for low wages helped the manufacturer overcome the problems created by the island's great distance from mainland markets.

Expansion of PRIDCO

As PRIDCO's activities expanded, the government decided to reorganize its development agencies. PRIDCO was given the task of bringing new investors to Puerto Rico and encouraging existing enterprises to expand. To accomplish this PRIDCO had the authority to make land and plants available at reasonable prices. It could grant loans, and even offer outright cash grants to encourage new ventures or expansion of established operations. The Economic Development Administration was established in 1950 to supervise all promotional activities relating to industrialization. It included a Department of Industrial Development and a Department of Tourism. Furthermore, it was given jurisdiction over the Puerto Rico Ports Authority and The Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (PRIDCO). This umbrella agency became popularly known as Fomento, a word which comes from the Spanish verb *fomentar*, meaning "to encourage, to promote." By 1952, this assortment of agencies successfully utilized their resources to attract some 200 manufacturing plants to the island.

There can be no doubt that the tax exemption act of 1947 quickened the process of industrialization. Another tax exemption law called the Industrial Incentive Act was passed in 1963 and amended in 1969. It gives qualified firms a tax holiday that ranges from 10 to 17 years. The longer periods of tax exemption are offered to those companies willing to locate on sparsely industrialized parts of the island. As an example of the profit record attained with the help of Puerto Rico's incentives, in 1967 firms promoted by Fomento realized a profit average of 20.4 percent in relation to equity; firms on the mainland averaged a profit of 18.8 percent before taxes and 11.4 percent after taxes.

Development of Tourism

In addition to attracting manufacturers, the insular government realized that there was great economic potential in the island's natural beauty and climate. Initially, the island was unprepared to accommodate an extensive tourist industry. PRIDCO began by

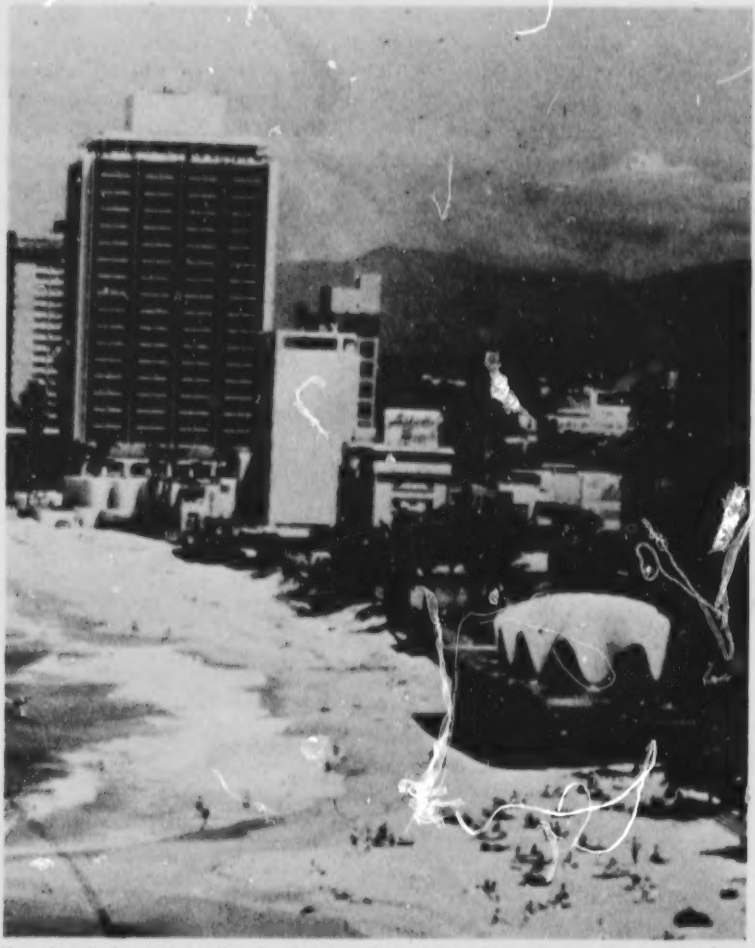
investing a major portion of its budget for initial facilities and advertising. Besides a general program for improving existing tourist attractions and services, a concerted effort was made to develop major hotel facilities in the San Juan area and local resorts scattered throughout the rest of the island. Plans were developed to convert El Morro from an army fort into a tourist attraction and to restore the picturesque old city of San Juan to its former Spanish splendor. Furthermore, facilities for good restaurants, fishing, yachting, private flying and golf were planned.

At a cost of $7,200,000 PRIDCO constructed a 300-room hotel which was leased to the Hilton Hotels Corporation and was opened in December, 1949 as the plush Caribe Hilton Hotel. Fomento assisted in the endeavor by sponsoring a tourist promotion campaign at a cost of a quarter of a million dollars annually. Fortunately, this expensive venture was successful. With the demise of American tourist trade in Cuba after the Castro takeover, tourism in Puerto Rico entered a new era of growth. The Hilton Corporation opened three hotels in 1963 and 1964—the Dorado, Mayagüez, and San Jerónimo Hilton.

From a small beginning of one 300-room hotel, tourist accommodations have increased to 9,014 rooms in 105 hotels and guesthouses. These hotels employ 10,500 persons and accommodate 705,792 guests. Total tourist expenditures amounted to 223 million dollars in 1970.

Heavy Industry

In the mid 1950's heavy industry entered the island in the form of metal products, machinery and chemicals. Fomento formed two refineries (Commonwealth Oil Refining Co., and Caribbean Gulf Refinery) at a cost of $96 million for the purpose of developing primary and secondary products. The importance of these industries lies in the fact that they offer the greatest potential for industrial integration. The shoe industry, for example, relies on the mainland for its supply of leather, rubber, linings and shoe boxes. But the petrochemical industry produces basic raw materials for light industry, while the latter in turn meets certain needs of heavy industry. The refineries convert crude oil into various products such as benzene, xylene, toluene and ethylene. These petrochemicals are then processed into intermediate products, like synthetic fibers, plastics, dyes, solvents, rubber and agricultural chemicals, by satellite plants. The intermediate products have



New hotels located in the Condada section of San Juan, Puerto Rico. (Economic Development Administration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico)

given rise to the development of still other industries which fabricate a huge variety of consumer goods such as apparel, housewares, floor tile, paints, tires, fertilizer and livestock feed. It is estimated that by 1975 100,000 jobs will be related to the complex of industries made possible by the oil refineries.

On April 19, 1972 Fomento announced the opening of a Marketing Development Office in New York. Although it is not commonly known, for the past ten years Fomento has fostered a

program designed to help Puerto Rican investors enter and succeed in the industrial community. This effort has resulted in the opening of 600 plants on the island, owned and operated by Puerto Ricans who mainly supply the local market. Fomento did not, however, become involved in helping these businessmen sell their wares on the mainland.

Instead, the new Marketing Development Office helps independent Puerto Rican businessmen find outlets for their products in the United States. Beginning in the fall of 1972, the products initially promoted were apparel, gourmet foods, furniture, plastic novelties and ceramics.

Unemployment

Even though Puerto Rico has experienced extraordinary economic development, there has persisted an unemployment problem of staggering dimensions. While the island's gross product has increased from 759 million in 1950 to 5,169 million in 1971, unemployment over the same period has remained between 10 and 14 percent. In 1971, some 97,000 workers (11.4%) of a total labor force of 849,000 persons were unemployed. The rate of unemployment during these years of Fomento activity would be closer to 30 per cent if unemployment among housewives and young people who have given up hope of finding a job is included. One-fourth of the island's youth between 16 and 24 years of age neither work nor attend school. By contrast, unemployment on the United States mainland hovers at 4%, and an unemployment rate of more than 5% becomes a serious problem of national concern.

Several developments explain this persistently high rate of unemployment. The agricultural sector, which in the past employed great numbers of farm laborers, has over the last 30 years drastically decreased its volume of production and need for workers. In 1940 agriculture accounted for 30% of employed workers. Today, farm laborers account for 5% of the total working force. Of the 46,000 farm workers who labored during the 1968-9 season, 11,000 or 24.1 percent worked less than 35 hours a week. In addition to the decline in the need for farm workers, it should be noted that there is a growing reluctance to accept agricultural jobs because of difficult working conditions and low wages. Since these individuals lack the skills needed to fill new positions in industry, they add significantly to unemployment figures.

Poverty Today

In spite of extensive economic development, there still exists a situation of extreme poverty among a segment of the population which, for various reasons, has not benefited from the island's progress. There are still some 157,000 families who have a yearly income of less than two thousand dollars. The Puerto Rico Planning Board has identified four possible solutions: 1) Create enough opportunities for employment for all able-bodied adults who want to work; 2) Provide financial and medical assistance for families without members who are able to work; 3) Provide education and training, in some instances with pay, for young people not attending school; 4) Supplement the income of poor families with working members, but whose income is insufficient to meet the family's basic needs.

Unemployment and Migration to the Mainland

Puerto Rico's program to create work for its people has been greatly aided by the availability of jobs on the United States mainland. If thousands of workers had not been able to migrate to jobs on the mainland, Puerto Rico's industrial achievements would have been eclipsed by the desperate needs of yet another million people.

In planning the island's industrial development, the Commonwealth could not possibly make full use of the available human resources. In order to achieve noticeable economic growth, the island had to rely on the migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. mainland. Even though emigrating Puerto Ricans have constituted the largest migrating group in recent world history and have neutralized the island's population growth, the unemployment rate has nevertheless remained high.

Two factors which have stimulated migration have been the limited number of jobs available in Puerto Rico and the employment needs on the mainland. These two conditions constantly interact, exerting varying degrees of control over the migration flow. Some migrants lack jobs, while others who are employed leave the island in search of better conditions. They are dissatisfied with low wages, frequent lay-offs, short work-weeks, and no opportunity for advancement. The distant market with its plentiful job opportunities offers the worker a more attractive life style. In many cases, the desire to remain in friendly surroundings with loved ones is overcome by the lure of a good-paying job far from home.

Chapter 7

The Cultural Impact of American Occupation on Puerto Rican Society

In contrast to the Spanish conquest of the Taino Indians, the annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States meant the penetration of new cultural values into an already existing and complex society. In 1508 Spain was able to absorb the relatively unsophisticated Indian culture and mold a new society patterned after its own form and structure.

In 1898, however, Puerto Rico possessed well-developed social, economic, and political structures, as well as a deep sense of its own unique national identity. Although Puerto Rico has been willing to accept and absorb many of the attitudes and values of American society, the Puerto Rican people have always been reluctant to enjoy the benefits offered by the United States at the cost of their national identity.

Social and Economic Change

The debate on the true extent and merits of the "Americanization" of Puerto Rican society and culture has been long and loud. Some have accused the United States of destroying the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican identity. Others have argued the merits of the economic rewards that grew out of the island's incorporation into the United States federal structure. Rapid industrialization and urbanization, the results of this economic development, have initiated vast changes. These changes have been felt, both culturally and socially, at every level of Puerto Rican society.

It is important to understand, however, that not all the socioeconomic changes that Puerto Ricans have experienced during the era of American occupation were brought about by the change in

sovereignty. Many trends had their beginning in the nineteenth century and were simply accelerated under the influence of the United States. One of the most important of these trends was the migration of great numbers of people from the countryside to the urban centers. The main reason for this increased migration was a lack of economic opportunity in the rural areas and new developments in trade and industry in the cities and towns.

Migration to the urban areas required a social and economic reorientation. One of the most important changes to occur was that class distinctions began to depend more upon accumulated wealth than upon the social prominence of one's family. Consequently, there was an increased mobility both upward and downward on the socioeconomic ladder. Migration also caused a change in the structure of the extended family, since geographical distances weakened the cohesive extended family ties. Together these changes altered the very social fabric of Puerto Rican society.

Since its colonialization, Puerto Rico has been part of Western civilization. Specifically, its culture has been Hispanic, and the way of life of its people has been fairly homogeneous. Although in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European and Spanish-American immigrants brought with them a diversity of cultural traits, these differences in values and attitudes were easily incorporated into the island's prevailing life style. The difference in modes of behavior among the people of Puerto Rico has been, and continues to be, more determined by socio-economic level and by the region in which a person lives than by race or ethnicity. It is in this respect that we can speak of different subcultures in Puerto Rico.

Industrialization and Urbanization

Traditionally, towns in Puerto Rico were built around a central plaza, and most of them retained this characteristic until the second half of the twentieth century. The plaza itself was surrounded by two- or three-story buildings of cement or cement and wood. The first floor of these buildings was frequently occupied by stores and other businesses, while upper- or middle-class families maintained apartments on the top floors. In some cases living quarters were extended to the *ensanches*, as the new extensions of the town were called.

Urbanization

Many families left their rural homes as the economy became industrialized and factories began springing up in the cities. This

massive migration to the cities strained existing housing facilities, and soon houses and apartments became virtually unavailable. Today 40 percent of the 400,000 urban dwellings are inadequate shacks built of scrap metal and lumber on steep hills or in marshlands. In an effort to meet the needs of this migration, the government built low-cost homes for the poor. Twenty thousand dwellings have been built each year and home construction now accounts for 8 percent of the island's gross product. In spite of extensive construction, there is a waiting list for the low rent government-built homes and apartments, and presently there are over 11,000 families on this list. Tin shacks are found in the cities, and as these shanty suburbs expand into the countryside, minimal housing is quickly provided while adequate sanitation is sacrificed. The inhabitants of these small houses try to make them as comfortable as possible, but in spite of their best efforts such housing is still substandard.

The cities have come to bear most of the burden of the new industrialized Puerto Rico. As an example, in 1960 San Juan had 27 percent of the island's population. People were lured to San Juan for the simple reason that it offered more jobs than any other part of the island. Although between 1950 and 1960 employment over the entire island decreased, in San Juan it increased by 31 percent. Workers and job hunters filled the city, contributing to the slum conditions in the city proper and in the suburbs.

Urbanization has brought to Puerto Rico some of the very same social problems that it brought to the major urban areas on the U.S. mainland. Since 1960 there has been an increase in crime, especially in crimes against property. Drug addiction, unemployment and the wide economic gap between the upper, middle and lower classes have nurtured the rise in theft on the island.

Industrialization and Employment

Although industrialization has created new jobs, unemployment still continues. New jobs are not being created at the same rate that the labor force is expanding. There is a growing population, a growing labor force, a decrease in farm employment, a shortage of skilled laborers and an increase in technology. All of these factors contribute to the high unemployment rate which presently constitutes 13 percent of the labor force. Thousands not included in this 13 percent are the partially employed. Of those living in slum areas, 22 percent are unemployed.

Along with unemployment, there is the problem of a relatively

low minimum wage for those who are employed. During the thirty-year period from 1940 through 1970, the minimum wage has increased from 19 cents an hour in 1940 to $1.68 an hour in 1970. In spite of this increase, the minimum wage on the island is still considerably lower than on the mainland. The government conscientiously attempts to raise wage rates by reviewing industrial wages every two years. The wages are reviewed by a federal board and a Puerto Rican review board consisting of representatives from labor, management and government. Both boards recommend minimum wages and the highest minimum wage recommended becomes law.

The Puerto Rican government also encourages unions to try for higher wages. Presently, there are 90 independent unions and 27 international unions on the island, but only one-third of the factory workers are organized. Labor unions are a relatively new concept in Puerto Rico, and because the government fixes the minimum wage, many workers are indifferent to the unions. They are on the rise but are a long way from carrying the powerful influence of labor unions on the mainland.

Effect of Industrialization on Social Structure

Until about 50 years ago Puerto Rican society consisted of a large, poor lower class and a small, wealthy upper class. In between there was a tiny middle class of small businessmen and artisans. The island's industrialization created a large middle class and changed Puerto Rican society from an agrarian two-class society to an urbanized three-class society.

The island's "old rich" have for the most part survived and adapted to this new society. They have learned English, absorbed American business techniques and values and, on the whole, are characterized by their acceptance of the "Americanization" process. Their children, accustomed from an early age to luxurious housing, servants and a high standard of living, are educated in American social customs and business practices, and are often sent to the U.S. mainland for their high school and college educations.

The island's growing middle class emerged partly from the impoverished middle class of the older society and partly from the poor lower class. This group includes Puerto Rico's growing number of professionals, doctors, lawyers, dentists, and teachers, and an equally growing number of small businessmen, salesmen, and factory and office managers. The new middle class represents a set of values that ascribes importance to symbols of personal achievement

and wealth. The goal of the members of this group is upward mobility, and they see individual effort, thrift and education as the means to this goal.

Puerto Rico's industrialization has also affected the lot of the poorer working class. Although there is a high rate of unemployment in this group, many have found better-paying jobs in factories and industry-related activities. Social mobility today is still difficult, but not impossible as it was under the two-class system. The son of a factory worker, truck driver or farm worker may go to college and become a lawyer or a doctor if he is highly motivated and not forced to drop out to contribute to the financial security of his family.

Effect of Industrialization on the Family

The social effects of industrialization that are reflected in Puerto Rico's changing social structure are also reflected in the family unit. Industrialization has to some extent altered both the structure of the family and relationships between family members.

The Puerto Rican family traditionally has followed the same structure as the older Latin American and European families. The father was the dominant head of the house with absolute authority to make the final decision in all matters. The mother was quiet and submissive. She was to be protected and loved while the father was to be respected and obeyed. The mother's place was in the home; the father's place was in the world.

This traditional family structure has been altered somewhat by the demands of outside employment, but it has not disappeared entirely, especially in rural areas. The woman is no longer bound to the home, but often works to contribute wages which supplement the husband's income. She enters the working world as a teacher, secretary or factory worker. Although outside employment has brought her a new measure of freedom to participate in family decisions and to express her opinions, she still carries all of the older responsibilities of maintaining the home and rearing the children. The man is still head of the house, but his authoritarian dominance is diminishing somewhat.

Industrialization has also altered family structure by contributing to the decrease in family size. When farming was the principal means of earning a living, children were needed to help on the farm, thus providing cheap labor. The poorer the family, the more children were needed. The more children a family had, the younger some died because of poor health conditions, lack of food and the necessity for child labor. Urbanization, movement to the cities, crowded condi-

tions and child labor laws have helped reduce the number of children being born. Trends in education, public health and rising standards of living have all resulted in declining birth rates.

The Extended Family

The extended family, which consists of parents, children, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, is also changing. Before industrialization, the members of the extended family lived close to each other and took care of each other. No one had to worry about lack of food or shelter, since there was always some member of the extended family who would provide it when needed. Now, with industrialization and urbanization, the nuclear family is slowly replacing the extended family. In the nuclear family, the father, mother and children live together in one home, often geographically removed from the other family members. But even though geographically removed from one another, family ties are still strong. Social life still revolves around the extended family and visits to the homes of relatives are frequent.

Industrialization and Education

Another area greatly affected by the industrialization of Puerto Rico is education. Muñoz Marín in his speech, "The Purpose of Puerto Rico," names as his number one priority "Quality Education for All" and asserts that "no one ought to have access to less education than that which his natural capacity permits him to absorb with profit to himself, his family, and his country."

Education in the Past

Until the eighteenth century there was no organized system of public instruction either in Europe or in America. Education was considered the duty of the home. In Puerto Rico, as in other colonies, only the wealthy could afford to give their children a secondary education, and the great majority of the poor were illiterate.

The first islandwide system of public education in Puerto Rico was established in 1770. The church was in charge of the government schools, which required that one-half of the children pursue an elementary education. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the government became increasingly interested in the education of the island's children. Several measures were taken to improve the

educational system and to increase literacy.

In 1851, a department of public instruction was created under the name of *Academia Real de Buenas Letras.* In 1880 Governor Despujols reorganized and modernized the entire school system. The establishment of a number of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning made it possible for Puerto Ricans of moderate means to continue their education after obtaining elementary school diplomas.

Recent Educational Procedures

In 1898, Spain granted Puerto Rico permission to establish its own educational system, a right which was quickly assumed by the United States. The United States government desired to substitute Anglo-American values and mores for Puerto Rico's Hispanic socio-cultural traditions. In order to transform the Puerto Ricans into good American citizens it was considered necessary to make them English-speaking. English was instituted as the vehicle of instruction in the island's schools. Although most teachers were Puerto Ricans who had practically no knowledge of English, they were expected to communicate with their students in a foreign tongue and to abstain from using Spanish in the classroom.

During this period, the most diverse types of language policies in the teaching of English were tried in the island's schools. When Dr. Padín was appointed Commissioner of Education in 1930, he reintroduced instruction in Spanish, but was soon forced to resign his post. Senator William King of Utah, who visited the island, found the children unable to speak English and decided that their being instructed in Spanish was anti-American. During this period the island's educational system had no native Commissioners, since no Puerto Rican was willing to consent to instruction in English. This situation persisted until 1948, when Puerto Rico regained authority over its educational system. The newly appointed Commissioner of Education, Dr. Mariano Villarongo, made Spanish the language of instruction in all grades and English became a required second language.

Today, education is given the highest priority on the island. More people work in the school system and more money is spent on education than in any other governmental agency. Seven to 9 percent of the national income is spent on education, 22,000 teachers are employed, and illiteracy is down from 50 percent of the population in 1940 to 12.4 percent.

American Influence

The social, political, and economic structure of Puerto Rico has been literally transformed during the past 30 years. Although the modernization of Puerto Rico is a mark of the changing times, the island's transformation has come about almost exclusively because of the influence of the United States. This influence has been felt more intensely in the economic sphere. Indeed, it was Puerto Rico's rapid economic development, begun in the early 1940's, that stimulated the island's vast social changes.

Language

The Spanish language visibly reflects America's influence on the island. Although Spanish remains the island's official and dominant language, English enjoys a great deal of prestige, especially because of its monetary value in the predominantly Americanized business world.

Spanish on the island is also quite liberally sprinkled with English words, phrases and expressions. These words, however, generally refer to new ideas and objects for which there are no traditional equivalents, and in no way threaten the basic structure of Spanish. As a result, bilingualism has become a positive asset on the island, and throughout Latin America Puerto Ricans are sought out for important positions because of this unique ability to communicate equally well in both languages.

American Influence on Island Life

American influence can be seen in all areas of island life. Some of this influence has produced results which have been favorable to the people and to the island's economy. But some of the influence has produced results which have served to alter much that was good and beautiful in the lives of the Puerto Rican people.

In architecture, no distinctively Puerto Rican style has flourished, with the exception of the earlier university buildings in Rio Piedras. In the name of progress, massive buildings have arisen, in some cases replacing Old World-style homes and parks. Old World-style restaurants have practically disappeared except for the few remaining in San Juan, and have been replaced with American-type bars and restaurants.

Much that could have been saved in Puerto Rico has been needlessly sacrificed to modernization and bigness. A concern with

bigness prevails—big television sets, big houses, big automobiles, all expressing an urgency to identify and incorporate with the elite. The beautiful tree-lined highways have been modernized and mutilated by billboards and telephone poles.

American mass media have influenced popular cultural habits in Puerto Rico. The American style has been reproduced in family living, in business and in entertainment. Even the arts have felt the American influence. The general output of the Institute of Puerto Rico is weak in the field of painting and strong in fields which are not Pan-Caribbean, fields such as mural decoration, wood sculptures, lithography and poster art. The other Caribbean Islands, such as Haiti, are known for their painting, while Puerto Rico's art fields are almost exclusively American styled and show a distinct separation from the rest of the Indies.

The Puerto Rican people have shown a remarkable ability to adapt to and absorb the many changes that have come to the island. The island's culture seems to have an elastic quality which permits it to assimilate vast social and economic changes and to make them, in many cases, an integral part of the existing native culture.

Puerto Rican Response to Change

The initial response of the Puerto Rican people to these many changes was to accept them as they had accepted Spanish and then American rule on the island. They assumed that America had brought with her a practical sense of democracy and that change would be inevitable. The Americans came to the islands with promises of social and personal betterment for the Puerto Ricans, and this ideal was openly welcomed after the long period of economic hardship under Spanish rule. But by 1930, a group of educated Puerto Ricans began to question what they called an attitude of "cloying fraternalism" on the part of the Americans. The intellectuals wondered whether the price they were paying for Americanization was too high. Americans came to the island bringing gifts of organization, industry and production technique. Some were beginning to doubt that the island's unique lifestyle would survive in the face of a technological onslaught.

Puerto Rican Patriotism

During the early years of the twentieth century, a new feeling of *puertorriqueñismo* (Puerto Rican Patriotism) was born. This *puertorriqueñismo* served as a cohesive force in molding the character of

the people. It was based on an attachment felt by every Puerto Rican to the island as his political and cultural homeland, an attachment intensified by the threat of alien American customs.

In 1946, Antonio S. Pedreira wrote *Insularismo*, a book of essays in which he attempted to identify the Puerto Rican quality of life. He urged his readers to be self-critical and to remember that they were first and foremost an Hispanic culture. He spoke of the changing influences from America which were endangering the traditional Puerto Rican way of life. Pedreira lamented the decline of Puerto Rican tradition under American rule. Pedreira's position was that with America on the island, there were more schools, more jobs and more money, but on the other hand, there were also more crimes, more suicide and more personal dishonesty. According to Pedreira, American influence destroyed the older tradition of local recreation, brought about the decline of the arts, the dance, and conversation, and eliminated the possibility of future great figures to carry on the work of the previous Puerto Rican patriots. While these changes disturbed Pedreira, they could be tolerated if only the Puerto Rican would maintain his identity.

Antonio Pedreira articulated the concern of a vast number of Puerto Ricans. The concern with retaining the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican identity and spirit has grown rather than diminished, and has recently been reflected in the platforms proposed by the island's leading political parties.

The Aguas Buenas Pronouncement

In November 1970, the PPD drafted a statement called the *Aguas Buenas Pronuncamiento* (Aguas Buenas Pronouncement) in which the PPD declared that if it should come to power in 1972, it would propose that a constitutional assembly be convoked with the purpose of exercising the island's right to formulate the new terms for its future relationship with the United States. According to the PPD, commonwealth status belongs to the people of Puerto Rico. Therefore, it is the people of Puerto Rico who are responsible to search for methods in which this status can be dynamically developed, by defining the areas in which change is desirable.

It remains to be seen whether or not Hernández Colón will call a constitutional convention. If such a convention is held, there are several areas in which change can be expected. First, there is a need to define clearly the role which Puerto Rico plays in the American defense setup. Thus far all decisions have been made unilaterally by an American Congress and by the President of the United States. In

keeping with the concept of free association, the PPD asserts that the island should have the right to determine what form its contribution to the common defense will take, and further that the people of Puerto Rico should also have their say in any matters which involve a nuclear ban treaty with Latin America.

The PPD is unequivocally opposed to any nuclear ban treaty with Latin America which excludes Puerto Rico or merely treats it as an American appendage and therefore not subject to critical scrutiny on the part of the Puerto Rican government and other participating nations. Furthermore, the PPD has planned continued negotiation with the American military over the future use of the Island of Culebra off the coast of Puerto Rico as target practice for the American and NATO naval forces. This practice has aroused widespread protest both on the island, in Puerto Rico and in the Puerto Rican community in New York City. Tensions were eased when then Secretary of Defense Richardson ordered that the Navy desist from using Culebra for target practice.

According to the Popular Democratic Party, Puerto Rico has always been and will continue to be a country hospitable to foreigners. Historically, it has been a haven for those seeking refuge during periods of religious and political persecution. However, the island is densely populated and cannot even produce the staples necessary to maintain the life of its three million inhabitants. As has been indicated, work on the island is scarce. Consequently, one million of its citizens have had to migrate to the United States in search of employment.

The economic situation of those who remain on the island in spite of this migration is still very weak. Too large a sector of the population is without work. In addition to the mass exodus of Puerto Ricans over the past twenty-five years, there has been a concomitant immigration of foreigners into the country which during some years has cancelled out the difference between Puerto Ricans who leave in search of work and foreigners who come looking for employment. The eventual result of this problem can mean the supplantation of the native population with a population of foreign origin.

In the Commonwealth constitution, Puerto Rico has given generic but not specific consent to the application of United States immigration laws to Puerto Rico. Under these terms, the island is subject to U.S. immigration policy. The island has no voice in a policy which is formulated by Congress and administered by the United States Department of Justice. At the present time, there are 53,000 foreign persons living in Puerto Rico and their influence is

felt in industry, commerce, finance, arts, trades, and services. Because of this huge immigration, the Commonwealth must adopt a specific immigration policy for regulation of admission and exclusion of foreigners, especially since immigration has had such a marked effect on professionals and skilled workers. Puerto Rico simply must contend with its limited capacity to absorb large masses of immigrants without creating serious problems in the economic, social and cultural life of the island.

In view of these facts, the PPD believes that it must come to a renewed understanding with the government of the United States concerning jurisdiction over the entrance of foreigners into the island. This will be necessary in order to ascertain that those who come into the country will be able to maintain a high level of social, cultural and economic development which will be beneficial to the country, and at the same time to confront the grave problem of the supplantation of an entire national entity.

Chapter 8

The Culture of Puerto Rico

The basic concerns of any nation are reflected in its culture. Thus the literature, dance and music of Puerto Rico trace not only the island's history, but its people's response to that history and their continued determination to preserve and express their own sense of national identity.

LITERATURE

Early Literature

The first literature of the island came in the form of letters and chronicles written by the Spaniards who conquered and colonized Puerto Rico. Among the best of these is the *Historia general y natural de las indias* (1535), by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, which describes what the island of Puerto Rico looked like to the first Spanish conquerors. In 1644 the Bishop of Puerto Rico, Fray Damián López de Haro, wrote a detailed account of life on the island, and in 1647 Diego Torres Vargas wrote an exhaustive historical summary of the island and its people.

The development of a purely native literature was hampered by Spanish colonialism which offered no local stimulation or opportunity for those interested in studying the arts and sciences. It was in Spain's political interest to keep Puerto Rico isolated from the liberal and revolutionary spirit of the times. Spain imposed this isolation economically by restricting trade, and socially by strict censorship laws and a refusal to develop educational facilities. Puerto Ricans who wished to acquire an advanced education were

forced to go to Spain and study in Spanish universities.

Spain's attitude towards Puerto Rico was further reflected in the total lack of printing facilities. It was not until 1807, when the island's Governor purchased a used printing press from a French immigrant, that the island possessed even a single printing press and was able to publish its first newspaper, *La Gaceta Oficial.*

Native Literary Work

The first book to be published in Puerto Rico, the *Aguinaldo Puertorriqueño* by Ignacio Guasp, appeared in 1843. This book contained a diverse collection of native verse and prose. The poetry exalted the island's native beauty and the prose presented folkloric sketches of island culture. The book was sent by Guasp to the Puerto Ricans studying at the Spanish universities who were so delighted to receive this work of literature from their native homeland that they reciprocated by writing the *Album Puertorriqueño.* It appeared in 1844 and contained a collection of their own literary efforts similar in style to the earlier work. Again in 1846, still under the inspiration of Guasp's book, the Puerto Rican students in Spain published yet another book, *El cancionero Borinquen (The Borinquen Singer).*

The Novel

Puerto Rico's first novelist was Manuel Zeno Gandía (1855 1930), a prominent doctor who lived through the tumultuous period of annexation. In his first novel, *La charca*, written in 1894, Gandía explored the sense of despair that characterized Puerto Rican society under Spanish rule. The novel takes place in a rural setting, up in the mountains where the countryfolk cultivate the coffee crop. It describes both the natural beauty of the land and the oppressive poverty of the country people who struggle for existence against the limitations of the feudal plantation system. The title of the novel, *La Charca*, means an ever-present, stagnant water hole that is covered with scum and emits an unpleasant stench. This Gandía uses as a symbol of Puerto Rican society itself and the lack of opportunity and personal freedom that scars the lives of the native population. *La Charca* was the first of four novels that Gandía called *Chronicle of a Sick Society.* The other novels include *Garduña* (1896), with a similar theme and setting on a sugar cane plantation; *El Negocio (The Business World)* (1922), a depiction of urban city life; and *Los Redentores (The Redeemers)* (1925), a bitter, ironical

story about the American "saviours" who colonized Puerto Rico during the turn of the century.

Puerto Rico's first important modern novelist was Enrique Laguerre (1906-), who published his first novel *La llamarada (Blaze of Fire)* in 1935. The setting, a sugar cane plantation, provides the stage for the novel's main drama, the anguish of a Puerto Rican intellectual caught up in the sad plight of his homeland just prior to its economic development in the 1940s.

In all, Laguerre has written eight novels, each dealing with social-historical themes. *La resaca (The Undertow)*, written in 1949, a biography of island life during the late nineteenth century, is considered his best. In 1951 he wrote *La geiba en el tiesto (The Silk-Cotton Tree in the Flower Pot)*, a bitter portrayal of Puerto Rico's hope for social and economic progress gradually and painfully diminished by hidden and elusive forces. Later in 1956, César Andreu Iglesias' first novel, *Los derrotados*, also dealt searchingly with the theme of frustrated Puerto Rican nationalism.

Pedro Juan Soto (1928-), born in Cataño and raised in New York City, focuses his attention on the plight of the Puerto Rican who leaves his homeland to enter the hostile environment of New York. *Spiks* (1956) written in both Spanish and "Spanglish" (a combination of English and Spanish), describes the difficulties of the Puerto Rican family transplanted into the alien culture of New York City. He focuses on family friction, mental illness, and misunderstandings with the police. In 1959 Soto published *Usmail*, the story of a young man from Vieques Island, the illegitimate son of an American sailor and a Puerto Rican girl who is soon abandoned by her lover. *Ardiente suelo, fría estación (Burning Ground—Frigid Harbor)* (1961), examines the plight of a New York Puerto Rican who feels disenfranchised in both New York and Puerto Rico.

The Short Story

The short story flourished in Puerto Rico during the 1940s. It developed from the traditional Spanish *estampa* or folklore tale that has played so large a part in Puerto Rico's literary history. Emilio S. Belaval (1903-), now a retired Supreme Court Judge, was one of Puerto Rico's first short story writers and has published several volumes of his collected stories. The best is the ironic *Cuentos para fomentar el turismo (Tales to Promote Tourism)* (1946), which describes the poverty of rural Puerto Rico. Abelardo Díaz Alfaro (1917-) presented a more nostalgic vision of country life in his

collection of short stories *Terrazo* which appeared in 1947. It is extremely popular in Puerto Rico and is used extensively in schools.

After the 1940's the majority of short story writers abandoned the rural theme and turned their attention to depicting the social changes brought about by the island's industrialization. José Luis González published *Cinco cuentos de sangre (Five Bloody Stories)* in 1945, which describe the urban misery of life in New York City and San Juan. René Marqués has also published two volumes of short stories that deal with the difficulties of urban life. *Otro día nuestro (Another Day for Us)* appeared in 1955 and *En una llamada San Juan (In a City Called San Juan)* appeared in 1959. Emilio Díaz Valcárcel (1930-) is a pessimistic writer who couches his bitter reflections in the style described as black humor. His two works *El Asedio (The Blockade)* (1958) and *Proceso en Diciembre (Process in December)* (1963) depict the anxieties of the Puerto Rican during the Korean War.

Drama

Alejandro Tapia y Rivera (1826-82) was an historical playwright whose best-known plays include *Bernardo de Palissy* (1857), *Camoens* (1868), and *La cuarterona (The Quadroon)*. Tapia was a man of many literary talents; he wrote novels, short stories, poetry, and essays as well as plays. Perhaps the first Puerto Rican dramatist of distinction, he was honored by the people of Puerto Rico when they named the theatre in Old San Juan after him. The Tapia theatre is currently the center of the island's dramatic presentations.

Puerto Rican theatre today is dominated by the work of René Marqués, whose most famous play, *La carreta (The Cart)* (1951) has been translated into several languages. *La carreta* explores the migration of a Puerto Rican family from the countryside to an urban slum on the island, and finally to New York City in search of *la buena vida*, the good life. The promise of the good life is elusive, however, both in the urban slum in Puerto Rico and in the slums of New York City. The play ends tragically when the indifferent technological society finally overwhelms the family and the young son is accidentally killed by a machine.

Although there is no continuous theatre in Puerto Rico, the number of theatre performances has greatly increased during recent years. In an attempt to stimulate young Puerto Rican dramatists, the Institute of Culture presents four plays during its annual festival. The university theatre and the Tapia are often occupied with the productions of private groups.

Lola Rodríguez de Tío. (Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, Inc.)

Poetry

Poetry has always played a very important part in Puerto Rico's literary history. It was a literary form that was always accessible to the people because of the traditional art of *declamación*, the public recital of verse, which was as popular in the countryside as it was in the city. Although the art of *declamación* is fading in the face of more structured poetic expressions, it provided a sense of poetry even to those who could not read, and helped establish the love of poetry as an essential part of Puerto Rican life.

One of Puerto Rico's greatest poets was Lola Rodríguez de Tío (1854-1924), who wrote the lyrics to Puerto Rico's national anthem, *La Borinqueña.* She was a fervent revolutionary who lived in exile in Cuba for many years. Her poetry declares her love of the island, its people, and their customs. Poetry on a similar theme has been written more recently by Juan Antonio Corretjer (1908-), also a far-left nationalist who spent time in prison for his political views and his ties to Pedro Albizu Campos. His poetry provides him

with a vehicle to express his love for Puerto Rico, its heritage, and its unique spirit. His most recent book is *Albanza en la torre de ciales.* Jaime Carrero (1931-) is a bilingual poet who was raised in the United States and is presently an art professor at Inter-American University. The subject matter of his poems is usually the conflict between American and native values.

Interracial Themes In Poetry

Puerto Rican literature has always reflected the social and philosophical concerns of its people. Thus the island's unflinching acceptance of its black population as a legitimate segment of its national life is clearly reflected in the many allusions to black and interracial themes.

The black writer is an honored member of Puerto Rico's literary tradition. The black experience has always been an integral part of the island's literary expression and Puerto Rican authors, both black and white, have always shown a deep interest in the island's black heritage. In a poem called "Indiana," (Indian) written in 1913, the black poet Luis Felipe Dessús summed up his own sense of racial pride in the assertion, "I am Indian and African: / Puerto Rican / whence fiery races intermingle: / I am life, I am the flame." Probably the most quoted poet on the island today is the black poet Luis Pales Matos (1898-1959). His lyric poems are exalted expressions of pride in Puerto Rico's black heritage.

Puerto Rican Literature From Past To Present

Puerto Rican literature from the Spanish colonial period to the present is marked by two dominant themes: a theme of despair and a theme of rebellion. These themes have appeared with equal intensity and equal emphasis, and they often occur together in the same work, as in the case of René Marqués' play *La carreta.*

The theme of despair reflects the anguish of a people oppressed by the government of an often indifferent and sometimes hostile foreign power. Puerto Rico's annexation by the United States did not mark an end to this sense of despair. Instead, Puerto Rican authors began to articulate a new concern and a new sense of frustration as they saw native culture and native values threatened and sometimes overwhelmed by the island's industrialization and urbanization. The current expression of this sense of despair by writers like Marqués, Laguerre, Soto, and Carrero can be viewed as an attempt to preserve the integrity of the Puerto Rican spirit.

A joyous positive assertion of Puerto Rican national identity has

existed side by side with these literary expressions of despair. This rebellion against political and social oppression is the second dominant theme that has characterized Puerto Rican literature from its very beginnings to the present time.

Spirit of El Jíbaro

The figure of *el jíbaro* has been used time and time again as a literary symbol of the rebellion and uniqueness of the Puerto Rican spirit. *El jíbaro* is a term that describes the rural peasant. He has come to represent to the Puerto Rican imagination the best values of the island's native culture.

The figure of the *jíbaro* appears early in the island's literary history, but did not receive full treatment until 1849 when Manuel Alonso wrote *El Jíbaro*. The book is a collection of short vignettes written in prose and poetry. They are really "snapshots" of the little things in life that have taken on a unique form in Puerto Rico. Alonso describes a variety of subjects ranging from a rural marriage, cock fighting, the island's dancing style, and the way people celebrate their holidays, to the islander's views on such controversial topics as the supernatural and the occult, dream interpretations, mental illness, race relations and politics. The end result is a positive assertion of the Puerto Rican spirit and Puerto Rican culture.

The figure of *el jíbaro* has remained just as attractive to more modern writers. In 1935 Antonio Pedreira, one of Puerto Rico's outstanding essayists, drew the definitive portrait of *el jíbaro* in an essay entitled *La actualidad del jíbaro*. He describes the *jíbaro* as generous, hospitable, cordial, but, by nature, distrustful and aloof. Inventive and clever, he is usually able to overcome all obstacles and turn circumstances to his own advantage. What makes the figure of the *jíbaro* so attractive is the sense of security that he feels in his native environment. To Puerto Ricans caught in the conflict between native and foreign values the *jíbaro* is an impressive figure of security. To those Puerto Ricans who feel that they have somehow lost touch with their native roots he is a nostalgic but powerful reminder of their heritage. In a sense he has become a personification of the island and we might call him Mr. Puerto Rico.

ART

Early Art Work

Art first flourished in Puerto Rico during the nineteenth century. The painters of this period were realists, centering their works

around portrait painting, landscape painting, and religious painting for churches. Their works today are in museums and churches, cultural associations, and in the homes of individuals and private collectors.

Puerto Rico has had three peaks of artistic development. They are represented by the paintings of three artists: José Campeche (1752-1809), Francisco Oller (1833-1917), and Ramón Frade (1875-1954). José Campeche produced approximately one hundred paintings of portraits, historical scenes, and religious pictures. His most famous work, *Lady on Horseback*, hangs today in the Ponce Art Museum of Puerto Rico. Oller painted regional scenes which have been purchased by members of the royal family, aristocrats, and intellectuals of Spain. His most renowned work, *El Velorio (The Wake)*, has been acclaimed and praised by many of his contemporaries. One of his works today hangs in the Louvre Museum. Frade's important contribution was the introduction of Impressionism to the island.

Art Today

Renewed interest in art has flourished since the 1950's. Exhibits are regularly presented by the universities, museums, and the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. The Museum of Art in Ponce is an important contribution to the cultural life of the island. It features a collection of old and contemporary works of artists of various schools and periods. The Museum owns more than five hundred paintings, three hundred of which are on exhibition.

A history of painting in Puerto Rico has been written by the Spanish art critic Gaya Nuno in which he includes several recognized contemporary artists and discusses their painting styles. His list includes José Oliver, Luis Hernández Cruz, Augusto Marín, Domingo López and Rafi Ferrer.

Sculpture is another form of art which has flourished on the island. The most creative work in this field can be seen in the carvings of the saints. The artists of this form receive no formal training, but learn from their elders. Several *santero* artisans have become renowned for their work, among them the Cabán family which has produced these carvings from the early 1800's to the present. The saints which are carved by the artisans are not placed in the churches, but rather in the homes of the people. It has recently become popular among the upper classes to collect and preserve these carved saints. In San Juan there is a museum dedicated to displaying the best examples of this native art form.

THE MUSIC AND DANCE OF PUERTO RICO

Early Musical Expression

Music is one of the oldest forms of art in Puerto Rico. It can be traced back to pre-Columbian times when the Indians of Puerto Rico had an orchestra, several instruments of which have been preserved. The instruments were made of wood, the most available and most versatile material of this period. This orchestra consisted basically of four instruments, two of which so impressed the Spaniards that they also began using them. After coming in contact with the Indians, the Spaniards adopted their *maracas*, made from hollowed gourds filled with pebbles, and their *güiros* or grooved calabashes, which were scraped with sticks and stones to produce a rasping sound. Wooden *magueyes* or drums and wooden bells also played an important function in this pre-Columbian orchestra.

The music of this period was made up of a combination of the instruments, war and religious chants, and dances. It was performed at Indian ceremonies, called *areitos*. These *areitos* took place at births, deaths, weddings, and numerous other occasions.

In the early 1590's, a dance called *La Bomba* was introduced in Puerto Rico. According to most writers, this dance was of African origin. *La Bomba* is a combination of dance and song, each combination with its own choreography. It was introduced by African slaves brought to the island with the French colonists.

In the fifteenth century church music became part of the Puerto Rican music. Liturgical chants, sacred songs, and organ music were introduced to the people. Before 1913, Bishop Manso made provision for an organist in the Cathedral of San Juan. For three centuries, this type of music, along with the music and dances of the Indians, predominated on the island. In 1870, the first Academy of Music was established in San Juan, and in 1871, the composer Felipe Gutiérrez opened an academy in Bayamón. In 1882, the name of Juan Morell Campos, composer of the orchestra overture, *La Lira*, was introduced to the music world. Campos is still recognized as one of Puerto Rico's outstanding composers and is known as the father of the *danza*, at one time one of the favorite dances of the Puerto Rican upper class.

Throughout the musical history of their country Puerto Ricans have freely adopted music styles from other countries and then, often in isolation from the country of origin, have continued to develop these musical styles into a unique Puerto Rican phenomenon. Within the country, music passes from one region to another and from one generation to another. The verse for this music has

always been taken from native folklore. Thus this music has preserved the customs and culture of the island.

Dance Today

Today, the dance is the favorite Puerto Rican pastime, and the backbone of all Puerto Rican music is the *seis*. The *seis* is the most popular of all the music on the island. The custom of dancing the *seis* comes from Sevilla where six children called *seises* would dance in the Cathedral at the Fiesta Del Corpus and the Fiesta de La Inmaculada. Dressed in boots and plumed feathers, they danced before the main altar. There are different types of *seises*, the *seis chorreao* being preferred among the Puerto Ricans because its quick rhythm produces a frenzy among the dancers.

Another type of music and dance prevalent on the island today is the *plena*, identified with the barrios and coastal zones of the island. The lyrics have some similarity to the Spanish romances, the Mexican corrido, the English ballad, and the Calypso of Trinidad, while the music is original to Puerto Rico.

There has been a marked increase in musical interest in Puerto Rico. This is due to the efforts of numerous groups, among them the University of Puerto Rico, which offers a series of concerts featuring world-famous musicians. Many campuses have their own orchestras, musical groups and glee clubs. The Institute of Puerto Rican Culture annually presents the Festival of Puerto Rican Music and sponsors a symphony orchestra which tours the island. Since 1957, the Pablo Casals Festival has become an annual presentation and through this Festival, the Conservatory of Music was founded. Because of the Conservatory, Puerto Rico has a symphony orchestra, a choir and an excellent training school for musicians. The late Pablo Casals contributed an immeasurable amount of time, energy and love to his adopted home of Puerto Rico. He is loved in return by the people of Puerto Rico not only because of the role he played in establishing the Festival and the Conservatory, but for the spirit and the excitement that he lent to the island's culture.

Chapter 9

Puerto Rican Migration to the United States Mainland

Who Migrates to The Mainland?

The migration of Puerto Ricans to the continental United States has been unlike any other in the history of our country. Puerto Ricans are in-migrants in their own country. That means that they are full-fledged citizens who can travel freely to the mainland without any immigration requirements, regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds.

The fare to the mainland is less than one hundred dollars, and the trip lasts only three and one-half hours by commercial jet. The commonwealth status of Puerto Rico and the proximity of the island to the continent place Puerto Rican in-migrants in a unique position. They are unlike European and Asian immigrants whose homelands were geographically distant from the United States and who entered our country as foreigners. Inexpensive jet travel and the absence of passport requirements enable the Puerto Rican to maintain a close affinity with his mother country. The homesick Puerto Rican, discouraged by the cold or unemployment or suffering from culture shock, can pack his bags and be back home in a few hours. Even the Puerto Rican who decides to stay can visit the island frequently and dream of a permanent return there.

Yet despite the unique status of the Puerto Rican in-migrant, he shares similarities with other immigrant groups. Like those who came before him, he is attracted to the continental United States as a land of hope and promise. He comes to fulfill his ambitions for a better job and a better life.

History of Migration

It was not until 1910 that large numbers of Puerto Ricans moved to the continent. At this time, there were about 1,513 islanders who left Puerto Rico to establish themselves in New York City, and by 1920 their numbers had grown to 11,811.

Most of these early in-migrants came from rural areas. Boats bearing names like *Puerto Rico*, *Coamo*, *Ponce*, and *San Jacinto* brought adult males to work as laborers on farms near the New York cosmopolitan area. Since Puerto Ricans do not have the same problems regarding immigration as other Latin Americans, they were preferred by North American employers. After the First World War, many Puerto Rican farm workers moved to New York City, where they were joined by their wives and children.

As more Puerto Ricans moved into large urban areas, particularly New York, their problems increased. They found that the long hours of work and the cold climate affected their health. They also found that the discrimination they encountered affected their outlook and feelings about life. There were many things that they hoped for, such as a good school for their children, a decent place to live, and acceptance from their neighbors. They longed for Puerto Rico but could not return because of the abject poverty there. For this reason, they were forced to accept their situation and work harder to earn enough money for a final return to the island.

The 1930 census reported 52,774 Puerto Ricans in the continental United States. Many had already discovered other cities, towns, and farms, besides New York, in which to reside. During the Second World War, there was very little growth in the Puerto Rican population on the continent. But with the emergence of air travel, a period of heavy migration started. Its peak year was in 1953, when 69,124 Puerto Ricans left the island to come to the continent.

The 1970 census accounts for 1,454,000 Puerto Ricans on the continent. Recent arrivals come from all parts of the island, many from the island towns and big cities. While a little more than 60% of Puerto Rican in-migrants live in New York City and its environs, Puerto Ricans can now be found in all 50 states. The larger Puerto Rican communities are found in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Other cities with a Puerto Rican population of over 5,000 are Bridgeport and Hartford, Connecticut; Miami, Florida; Honolulu, Hawaii; Camden, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, and Trenton, New Jersey; Cleveland and Lorain, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Washington, D.C. Besides these cities, there are a large number of cities and towns with a Puerto Rican

population between 1,000 and 5,000, such as New Haven and Waterbury, Connecticut; Columbus, Georgia; New Orleans, Louisiana; Boston, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; Detroit, Michigan; Passaic and Perth Amboy, New Jersey; Buffalo and Rochester, New York; Youngstown, Ohio; Bethlehem, Pittsburgh, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. There are also Puerto Rican communities of less than 1,000 people in a large number of towns and cities, especially in the Northeast areas of the United States.

Besides the Puerto Rican urban population on the continent, there are a large number who live in rural areas. Many are migrant workers who are contracted by the Puerto Rican Labor Department to work on fruit and vegetable farms. Yet, some still come to the United States mainland without legal contracts. Because of their lack of legal support, these workers often suffer greater hardships. But not all the Puerto Ricans who live on farms are migrant workers. A small but growing number are self-employed, independent farmers.

The present Puerto Rican migration to the continent may be classified into three groups: the permanent resident; the temporary traveler, worker or student; and the revolving farm worker who moves with the crops on the mainland. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico established offices in several continental cities to take care of the problems of these migrant workers in 1948. These offices are serviced by the Migration Division of the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Each year, approximately 30,000 of the farm workers, who travel back and forth between the island and continent, and other Puerto Ricans receive help from these migration office branches.

Why Do They Come?

The Puerto Rican migration is motivated primarily by economic conditions, both on the island and the continent. Most of the people who have migrated are from the lower economic class. The poor rather than the middle class or professional Puerto Ricans leave the island for the continent in search of better economic opportunities. They are unskilled workers with a very limited education who come from the rural areas, small towns and, more recently, from poorer sections of the cities on the island.

Unemployment and overpopulation are factors which spur the poor Puerto Rican to migrate to areas on the continent where jobs are more available. Statistics compiled by the Puerto Rican Migration Office show that when unemployment on the island has risen,

migration among Puerto Ricans to the continent increases; conversely, when unemployment on the island decreases or unemployment on the continent increases, there is a rise in migration of Puerto Ricans from the continent back to the island.

Legally, the Puerto Rican who migrates from San Juan to New York is no different from an American citizen who moves from Chicago to Los Angeles. Many Puerto Rican in-migrants, in fact, feel that they are temporary residents on the continent and that eventually they will go back home. Many come because a cousin or friend has written to say that a job is available—in a factory, a restaurant kitchen, or the textile district—which pays twice what one made on the island. Their plan is to work, save as much money as possible, return to *la isla*, and buy a home or perhaps start a business. Most are able to return in a better financial position than when they arrived here. Others return disappointed, with nothing to show for all their years of effort and struggle. Still others remain in their new communities and try to adapt themselves to their new environment.

The proximity of the island to the continent creates another motivation for migration beyond the desire to improve economically. Puerto Ricans are infused with a spirit of adventure and need only a reasonable excuse to come to the United States and join the thousands of others who have already migrated. Many new migrants were inspired by the tales of travel of those Puerto Ricans who lived on the continent or who served their country abroad in the Armed Forces.

The Puerto Rican migration has not followed the pattern of other groups who came to settle in the United States. Since Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States and can travel freely between the island and continent, they do not feel the need to establish permanent residency as other immigrants must do to gain American citizenship. As long as this status continues, we can expect a constant flow of Puerto Ricans to and from the continent.

Selected Bibliography

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A study of the social transition in Puerto Rico during the last twenty-five years and its impact on education.

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First basic collection of readings concerning the experience of the Puerto Rican child in North American schools. It provides a wide selection of material of significance for teachers and other professionals who work with Puerto Rican children in adolescence.

Fitzpatrick, Joseph P., PUERTO RICAN AMERICANS. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

A scholarly book about Puerto Ricans on the mainland, with a special focus on New York City. It deals with the island background, the impact of Puerto Rican migration on the mainland, and the process of adjustment for both Puerto Ricans and other mainland Americans. Among the areas investigated are Puerto Rican identity, family structure, religious beliefs, educational experiences, and problems of race, welfare, and drug abuse.

Gladwin, E., CHANGING CARIBBEAN. New York: Collier-MacMillan, 1970.

A chronicle of Puerto Rican history.

Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel P., BEYOND THE MELTING POT. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965.

Traces the role of ethnicity in the life of New York City. It promotes the thesis that the melting pot never happened, and that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and the Irish have retained their own distinctive identities.

Handlin, Oscar, THE NEWCOMERS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

A comparison of the experience of Blacks and Puerto Ricans as the newest migrants to New York City with those earlier immigrant groups. Describes how changing conditions have altered the status of the newcomers.

Lewis, Gordon, PUERTO RICO: FREEDOM AND POWER IN THE CARIBBEAN. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

An excellent, comprehensive, and scholarly report of the background, meaning, and the effects of the American involvement in Puerto Rico following the Spanish-American War. This study is critical of the U.S.

López, Alfredo, THE PUERTO RICAN PAPERS: NOTES ON THE RE-EMERGENCE OF A NATION. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973.

An examination of the origin and development of Puerto Rican nationalism with particular emphasis on the nature of Puerto Rican culture.

Marden, Charles F. and Mayer, Gladys, MINORITIES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Co., 1968.

A comprehensive sociological study of racial, religious, national and social minority groups in the U.S. The chapter on Puerto Rico describes the post-World War II migration, the Puerto Rican adaptation to mainland culture, and the impact of Puerto Ricans on New York City.

Matilla, Alfredo and Silen, Ivan, eds., THE PUERTO RICAN POETS/LOS POETAS PUERTORRIQUENOS. New York: Bantam Books, 1972.

A recently published bilingual anthology of the 20th Century Puerto Rican poets. It includes poets and poems that express the Puerto Rican experience in New York City as well as on the island.

Mills, C. Wright, Senior, Clarence and Coldsen, Rose K., THE PUERTO RICAN JOURNEY. New York: Russell and Russell, 1962.

A sociological study of the Puerto Rican migration to New York and the Puerto Rican communities in East Harlem and the Bronx.

Senior, Clarence, THE PUERTO RICANS: STRANGERS—THEN NEIGHBORS. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1965.

Examines the patterns, history and economic importance of Puerto Ricans.

Sexton, Patricia Cayo, SPANISH HARLEM: AN ANATOMY OF POVERTY. New York: Harper, 1965.

Describes the ethnic composition of Spanish Harlem and the overwhelming problems faced by its inhabitants in their fight against poverty. Includes sympathetic personal descriptions of individuals.

Silen, Juan Angel, WE, THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

An essay explaining and advocating the independence movement in Puerto Rico. Political and revolutionary in tone, passionately anti-colonial, it evokes serious thought nevertheless.

Steward, Julian Haynes, ed., THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1956.

Provides an economic history, an account of the role of religion in Puerto Rican life, a study of demographic factors, and in-depth accounts of daily life in selected villages and towns.

Thomas, Piri, DOWN THESE MEAN STREETS. New York: New American Library, 1967.

A personal account of the struggles of a young Puerto Rican achieving manhood in New York City.

Tugwell, Rexford, G., THE STRICKEN LAND: THE STORY OF PUERTO RICO. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1947.

The personal account of the New Deal governor of Puerto Rico during the war years. Now dated, it remains interesting as a reminder of the struggle to achieve greater self-government and economic progress for Puerto Rico.

Wagenheim, Kal, PUERTO RICO: A PROFILE. New York: Praeger, 1971.

This book offers a study of the geographical, cultural, social and economic features of Puerto Rico. It recounts, as well, the history of the island from its discovery until the present day, with emphasis on the influences of Spanish and American domination and the movements for self government and independence.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL

Films

ISLAND IN AMERICA. 28 min., color: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016. Rental $17.50, Purchase $250.00.

This film compares conditions faced by Puerto Rican migrants today with those encountered by earlier immigrant groups, pointing out both similarities and differences. It features talks by two prominent Puerto Ricans, Joseph Monserrat, President of the New York City Board of Education, and Congressman Herman Badillo. Problems of Puerto Rican identification and adaptation to the mainland and culture are also presented.

MIGUEL: UP FROM PUERTO RICO. 15 min., color: Learning Corporation of America, 711 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10022. Rental $15.00 for three (3) days, Purchase $195.00.

Story of a resourceful little boy who wants to buy a fish dinner for his father's birthday with a dollar given him by his mother. After losing the money Miguel has a series of adventures before achieving his aim.

PUERTO RICO AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. 11 min., black and white: Coronet Films, 65 East South Water Street, Chicago, Illinois 60601.

A geographic, historical and cultural survey of these United States territories in the Caribbean.

PUERTO RICO: SHOWCASE OF AMERICA. 18 min., black and white: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Text Film Division, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036.

Portrays the growth of Puerto Rico's economy against the background of the island's geography, history, culture, and traditions.

PUERTO RICO: THE CARIBBEAN AMERICANS. 22 min., color: International Film Bureau, Inc., 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Presents the main historical facts about the island. Describes one Puerto Rican who has gone to New York for a better life and returns to Puerto Rico.

VISIT TO PUERTO RICO. 17 min., color: International Film Bureau, Inc., 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Shows Puerto Rico's location, population, social heritage, geography, topography, chief crops, and farming methods. Both the Spanish tradition and the recent modern conditions are portrayed.

Filmstrips

PUERTO RICO: HISTORY AND CULTURE. Parts I and II. Urban Media Materials, 212 Mineola Avenue, Roslyn Heights, N.Y. 11577. Color. Purchase $28.50.

Part I describes the main currents of Puerto Rican history, stressing the Spanish heritage, the impact of American rule, and the recent encouraging economic development of Puerto Rico.

Part II describes some features of Puerto Rican culture, including its architecture, religious activities, music, and art.

MINORITIES HAVE MADE AMERICA GREAT, PART II OF THE PUERTO RICANS. Warren Schloat Productions, Pleasantville, New York 10570, (with attached record and teachers' guide) color: $22.50 with record.

This filmstrip consists of two (2) parts . Part one (1) describes some of the problems Puerto Ricans face in adjusting to life on the mainland. These problems are compared with those of earlier immigrant groups. The impact of some of these problems upon Puerto Rican youngsters is shown. Part 2 shows how organized attempts are being made to cope with these problems. The work and influence of Aspira, Headstart and other programs are described.

THE PUERTO RICANS. color: Motivation Films, 420 East 51st Street, New York, NY 10022. $28.00.

Tells how the Puerto Rican brings his culture to the big cities on the mainland.

Records

FOLK SONGS AND DANCES FROM PUERTO RICO. Folkways, Scholastic Records, 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632.

Dr. William S. Marlens taped these songs and dances in Puerto Rican streets, hills and homes.

LATIN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S GAME SONGS. Asch Records (Folkways), 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632.

Children singing in the town of Loiza Aldea. Includes Arroz con Leche and San Sereni.

PEREZ AND MARTINA. Traditional Folktale, Listening Library, 1 Park Avenue, Old Greenwich, Conn. 06870.

Story told by New York libriarian storyteller in English and Spanish.

RESOURCES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO
Hato Rey, Puerto Rico

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO
322 West 45th St
New York, N.Y. 10036

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO IN CAMDEN
333 Arch Street
Camden, New Jersey 08102

COUNCIL OF SPANISH-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS
2023 N. Front Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19122

OFFICE OF TURISMO IN NEW YORK
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF FOMENTO IN NEW YORK
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019

THE PUERTO RICAN RESEARCH AND RESOURCES CENTER
1519 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

CHILDREN'S MUSIC CENTER, INC.
5373 W. Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, Calif. 90019

SPANISH BOOK CORPORATION OF AMERICA
610 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10026

EL MUSEO
Community School District Four
206 East 116 Street
New York, N.Y. 10029